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ABSTRACT

Testimony concerning the African American family and in particular, males as an endangered species, is presented in this report of a hearing before the California State legislature. Among the witnesses was Judge Loncke, who discussed issues of court procedure and police role as well as patterns of low education, hopelessness, and youth among offenders. Judge G. Ransom spoke next and addressed legislation and the needs of probation and other correctional agencies. Attorney J. Burris spoke about his experiences in criminal defense. Inglewood (California) Chief of Police, R. Johnson, summarized the current plight of black males, particularly their high rate of incarceration and violent death. Another witness, Barbara Lee, focused on the legislative agenda and prison construction bond ballet measures. R. Johnson spoke about rites of passage programs for African American male youth. W. Valdry, president of One Hundred Black Men of Los Angeles (California), shared some of his experiences with the Young Black Scholars Program. The Reverend C. Jones described the crippling effect on the black community of destroying male leadership. R. Dawson, Coordinator for the Center of Black on Black Crime, called for educational reforms. Dr. Irene Pinkert called for effective programs for black youth. Included also are the comments of citizens who spoke during a period of open testimony chaired by Assemblywoman Gwen Moore. (JB)

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Black Family Hearing
of the
LEGISLATIVE BLACK CAUCUS

Chaired by
Assemblyman Elihu Harris

October 26, 1990
Sacramento, California

The African-American Male: An Endangered Species

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Hearing of the

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An Endangered Species

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CHAIRMAN ELIHU HARRIS: ...so we can get started. First of all, I want to welcome all of you to this year's Legislative Black Caucus Hearing. This is a family hearing, on family issues. This year, our topic is "The African-American Male: An Endangered Species."

First of all, I'd like to introduce myself. My name is Elihu Harris. I'm a member of the California State Assembly from the thirteenth district. Joining me is Shelley Bates, from the Speaker's Office, and Robin Wilson from the Legislative -- which is the correct title?

MS. WILSON: Assembly Floor Analysis.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: The Assembly Floor Analysis. The supervisor, Barbara Lee, will be assuming my seat in the Assembly thirteenth district after the November elections, and we'll be joined by other caucus members during the course of the afternoon.

We're aware of the importance of your time. We want to get started and demonstrate that we have the capacity to be as timely as possible.

(Inaudible) in Louisiana with 400 people to confirm attendance as, obviously, from the attendance here today, that number and more have actually (inaudible).

We'd like to quickly acknowledge those staffers who worked to make this possible: Shelley Bates, whom I've already introduced; Kim Tillman; Erin Keyes; Reggie Fair; Robin Lewis; Sharon Bacon; Edith Spencer; Darnell Cooley; George King; Charles Bell; Lynnis Johnson; Carlotta Guttierrez; Julie Rosado; and Gena

McVen. I'd also like to make -- I'd like to also acknowledge the arrival of my colleague from the Los Angeles area, specifically Curtis Tucker, Jr.

I'd also like to make special mention of the ministers in the audience. Shelley tells me that we have ministers with us from Oakland, Altadena, Bakersfield, Berkeley, Compton, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Modesto, Pasadena, Sacramento, Santa Ana, Seaside, Stockton, and Vallejo, and Greyhound runs to all of those cities. It's wonderful to have all of you with us. We appreciate your active participation.

I want to thank the witnesses that have come here today to share their expertise and knowledge on this subject.

The hearing will begin with the testimony from nine witnesses. Each will speak for no more than 15 minutes and then entertain questions from the caucus members. After all witnesses have spoken, there will be an opportunity for audience questions of either the witnesses or the members.

We encourage you to make suggestions for more effective solutions to the problems of the African-American male, an endangered species.

African-American communities, neighborhoods, schools, and other social institutions have been virtually devastated by the rapid growth of gangs, the effects of child abuse and neglect, the spread of drug addiction, the rapid increase in teenage pregnancy, the frightening results of violence and criminality and other socially destructive behavior. Today, we see up to half of all African-American students entering the ninth grade fail to graduate, and the average drop-out rate is 3,789 children each day. With that being even greater for African-American in urban areas, these facts give some idea of the enormity of the problem that threatens the survival of all African-Americans.

Dismal as these statistics are, they almost pale into insignificance when compared with the present and projected rumors and projected future conditions of the African-American male. Current statistics show that, number one, more than 40 percent of the youth in the juvenile justice system and nearly one third of all juvenile arrests are Black males. Second, the probability of a Black male being arrested by age nine is 65.5 percent, as compared to 33.9 percent for White males. Black males die almost five times faster from age-related causes than White males. Fourth, the lung cancer death rate for Black males increased from 62 per 100,000 in 1969 to 98 per 100,000 in 1985. The homicide rate among Black males is six times the rate of White males. Number six, one out of every three Black students graduates from high school with a GPA below 2.0. Seven, the overall drop-out rate for Black males exceeds 50 percent. And as to the future outlook for the Black male, it is projected by the year 2000, 70 percent of them will either be in jail, on drugs, alcohol, or victims of homicide. The African-American male is indeed a species in danger, and if we are to survive as a people, we must find ways to save our young men.

Our first witness will be Judge Gary Ransom. Testimony will then be presented by categories as it appears in your handbook.

I would also like to add a statistic that I think has been bandied about and that I believe to be correct, and that is if you're a young Black male born in this state, you've got a better chance of being murdered before you're 18 than you do getting into the University of California. Those are the kinds of statistics that ought to give us all case for pause, and the reason we're here today is to begin to find solutions for this problem. We obviously solicit your participation. It's a crisis. We're talking about the death of our race. If we don't begin to address it, believe me, nobody else will.

I'd like to ask if, first of all, Curtis Tucker has any introductory comments he'd like to make? No? Nothing? You're a clinical social worker.

Barbara Lee -- I have a bet with Barbara Lee. She will not be quiet through the hearing. It's $10, and I will share it with which one of you will draw out of her her ire.

All right.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: (Inaudible).

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I'm sorry. Would you repeat that?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: (Inaudible).

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: No.

Next question?

Sergeant, would you see if you can get us some more folding chars, though, if there are any anywhere. The problem --

We can fill them in the front here if there's no fire danger in that, or around the room, but obviously, we want to keep this clear as possible. There'll be some other members who'll come in, and we'll probably have some other of the witnesses take these seats as they retire. So you might want to take some of the chairs from up here and use those. I'm sorry that we're overcrowded. This is the biggest room we got, quite frankly, and we apologize for the lack of seating.

Okay. We'll leave one or two chairs there for the witnesses, although I assume -- witnesses, as you testify, would you just come around and have a seat.

Okay. Why don't we just leave those four seats, and then, as you get through, why don't you come up here and assume the seats here on the dais, on the lower dais.

Okay, Judge Ransom, welcome, and it's good to have you here.

Judge Ransom is a long time friend of mine, certainly one of the more caring and considered to be involved judges. We're obviously pleased to have you here, and we'd appreciate any expertise you might share with us, Your Honor.

JUDGE RANSOM: (Inaudible).

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Speak into the mike. Is the mike on here?

JUDGE RANSOM: The mike's on.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Push the button. If the light's not on, then there's a problem.

Is it on now? All right.

JUDGE RANSOM: Can you hear me?

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yes.

JUDGE RANSOM: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Speak right into it, Gary.

JUDGE RANSOM: I gave my speech to one of your staff members, don't have it back -- Oh, you have a copy?

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Sergeant, will you please come get this speech.

JUDGE RANSOM: Anyhow, I remember pretty much what I wrote.

It's an absolute pleasure and delight to be here today to speak to such an august body on a subject matter that's very important to all of us: the future of our African-American males.

I'm speaking from the perspective of a judge sitting on a superior court in and for the County of Sacramento, State of California. Unfortunately, by the time the situation has gotten to the point...

(RECORDING FAILURE).

JUDGE LONCKE: ...on a road to be funneled into the prison system that in this country, I understand, contains more Blacks than Black males in the college systems throughout the country. It's a matter of great concern as to what to do about the justice system that seems to have no alternatives, or insufficient alternatives, available for dealing with the young Black males that come through, generally with drug-related crimes being considered.

There are a number of the judges who are concerned with this who have decided that we don't have enough power as judges alone to do this, and we have to talk with other people. We helped, for example, in this city get District Attorney Steve White appointed. One of the reasons was that we felt that District Attorney White had the concerns and shared the concerns of the community and would be flexible in dealing with the drug problems of this community.

I consider him to be a very good friend of the community, and I've been working with him over the years to try to get the prosecutorial arm to have more sensitivity in dealing with the problems of drugs and Black youth.

You have to understand that in our system, the prosecutor has an awful lot of discretion. The prosecutor, not the judge, really determines what charges are going to be filed against the person before the court. Now, you can have someone who's 19 years old, who has a drug sale charge against him that may have a future. He may be doing it for economic reasons of a short-term nature. He may not be the kind of person who's willing to hurt someone to accomplish his sale, and if you put that person into a situation where he has a criminal record of a felony nature right from the beginning, he's on that road to nowhere that I mentioned earlier.

I think Steve White and other prosecutors are beginning to become aware of the problem, the sensitive prosecutors. They're becoming aware of the problem that leads towards a solution that will include sensitive approaches to even drug sales. I brought with me a copy of the recent Sacramento Bee article that talks about "New Haven Police Get New Role." The sub-headline says, "Chief Orders Officers to Cool Off on Arrests, Become Social Engineers." Now, that's a negative slant to what I consider to be a very good story about the police in that community becoming more sensitive to problems of youth and drugs.

One of the solutions that I think should be considered will be outreach, and Steve White is considering this at this moment, I understand -- Whether it will be implemented is something yet to be determined -- will be an outreach to those people who are committing drug-related crimes who have not yet been caught for whom there appear to be no options, an outreach that would include an amnesty offer to allow these people to come in, obtain drug counseling and rehabilitation and, at the same time, let the law enforcement know the crimes he may have been committing with amnesty being provided as long as the crimes haven't been of an assaultive nature. They've been minor property crimes.

ASSEMBLYMAN CURTIS TUCKER: Judge, let me interrupt you for just a minute. I want to ask you a question.

You said the majority of the young Black males that you see entering the criminal system, or before you, is directly related to drugs, whether it be drug abuse or drug sales. What percentage of those young Black men are addicted? Would you say it's a high percentage, or would you say that the majority of people who come before you are there for sales?

JUDGE LONCKE: Well, I don't have the same experience that Judge Ransom has. He'll probably be answering that question more directly, but I would say that most of the ones that come before the courts are at least users, and addiction follows use pretty quickly.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Right. Right.

JUDGE LONCKE: But the problem is also the economic opportunities to purchase these drugs are not there, so these people are also stealing in order to support --

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Right. They're committing the crime to get the money to support their habits, and it's vicious cycle.

JUDGE LONCKE: That's correct.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Question: Do you think -- Do you know of any drug rehab programs in any juvenile halls we have in California.

JUDGE LONCKE: Let me ask Gary to speak to that question. Do you want him to do it now or --

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Well, he can just answer the question right now.

JUDGE RANSOM: I was at a conference recently when I spoke to the number two person in the California Youth Authority, the Department of Corrections, and the answer is, it's there, but it's extremely limited. It's being run on a test basis, and if it works, they're going to expand it, but the overall question and the overall answer is no. It's there on a very limited basis, for the limited --

Well, these opportunities for rehabilitation are often much too limited. We brought together, Steve White and myself, some of the business community of this city to look at the possibility if we put together some sort of outreach program that would look out for Black youths and young Black men to try to get them in off the streets and off the drugs.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Would there be program there available for them?

JUDGE RANSOM: Well, the business community, along with us, recognize that right now there are no really available programs. You might have to wait a year, 8 months, 16 months to get in. Well, for someone who's motivated today to get off a drug, you'd better get them today. There is no tomorrow for that person. Their motivation can change.

Now, I think that the business community could become involved in a significant way because quite often the lack of drug treatment facilities affects business in the pocketbook, where it hurts. There's a thing called "shrinkage" in our communities, which basically means that people in retail and manufacturing are ripping off their employers to support their drug habits. These employers have the motivation to get their own employees off of drugs and as a result to create programs that could be used to help Black youth in my estimation.

I think in our discussions with the business community there is a positive outlook towards something that could at least be directed towards their problem of shrinkage, which is more than several billion dollars throughout the country.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Right.

JUDGE RANSOM: I've talked to Chief Kerns and to Sheriff Craig regarding the problem in his force. Law enforcement has a similar problem. They have people in law enforcement who are on drugs right now who aren't willing to step forward because they're afraid they're going to lose their jobs.

Now, you might be wondering why are they on drugs. Law enforcement on drugs, does that make sense? Well, Gary knows and I know that a lot of those law enforcement people have to go out under cover. They're out on the streets trying to become credible with the community, trying to find out who's selling, this type of thing. We all know that, on occasion, they may be in a situation where something's offered to them, and if they don't accept it and use it, it might be their life. So some of these people become addicts in the line of duty, so to speak.

The sheriff and police chief, I think, are willing to consider programs that will allow some of their men, as part of an overall community effort to get off this destruction, to get into drug rehabilitation programs without losing their jobs.

Now, that's real controversial among law enforcement.

In law enforcement in general in the past, if you've been suspected of drugs, you're out. They don't want to be bothered with you; okay? And they are not supposed to be on drugs, but the fact is that there are people in very sensitive positions who are. I'm sure there are judges on drugs. There are people in every line of work on drugs.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: None present, though.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No. Not Gary. Not Gary.

JUDGE RANSOM: So I think there's a common motivation to get the whole community interested in providing an infrastructure for relief, for rehabilitation that will benefit Black youth. If we can get the business community and law enforcement involved in considering things other than simply the prosecution of the people who are involved in these drug-related crimes, I'm really very optimistic about the possibility of, if I get the right prosecutor, of creating socially sound programs for people involved in what I call light-weight drugs, before they get into the heavy-weight drug situations.

There is no substitute, in my view, for the discretion that the prosecutor has to come up with creative ways to deal with the problems of Black youth. The judges, basically, because of mandatory sentencing practices and this kind of thing, have very limited control these days. If we get the prosecutors involved, we get the community involved, in looking at a situation that is now becoming, in effect, a creation of more concentration camps for Black people -- that's what the Youth Authority is becoming, that's what the prison system is becoming, a concentration camp for minorities, and to the extent that we get prosecutors thinking of alternatives, I think it will benefit the whole community. It will enable the justice system to handle other problems not associated with drugs, but unless we solve this problem for our Black youth, unless we give them a way out of the drug-related and economically motivated drug direction, they really have no road to go but on that road to nowhere.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Okay, Judge, I want to interrupt your for just a minute. Assemblywoman Moore, who has joined us, has a question.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN GWEN MOORE: Hi, Gary.

Listen, let me ask a question. I know what an activist you are, although judges are not supposed to be activists. What's the possibility of getting the judges to take some position in terms of the judges' association and other organizations and groups in terms of them coming to this legislature and fighting for money for preventive programs.

JUDGE LONCKE: That's a good question, Gwen, if I may call you that, I'm really happy to see you, and I was there and shared your tears this morning, and you said some eloquent things about the justice system, and I appreciated them.

First of all, your premise, I think, is incorrect regarding it's bad for a judge to be an activist. I think traditionally --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, I didn't say that. I don't think that. I'd like to see more of them.

JUDGE LONCKE: Okay. Well, I understand that you're sympathetic, and I think more and more judges are becoming aware that they have a role to play other than sit on the bench, sit in their chambers, and do judicial type of things. Unless they get involved with the community, they aren't going to be doing their jobs. They won't really have a feel for what their job really entails.

With respect to how realistic it is to get judges involved in drug-related advocacy, I'd say it's getting more and more realistic. We had a State of the Judiciary address by Chief Justice Lucas that pointed the nefarious impact drugs have on the system, the criminal justice system, the justice system in general. We basically came up here and advocated some change in the way we deal with the drug problem to relieve the courts.

Judges are able to take stands on matters that affect the administration of justice, and if you don't think the drug problem and the problem of youth going into the drug culture affects the justice system, well, then you haven't been around very long. It's really critical. I mean, that's perhaps too much. 70 to 80 of all the work of the courts today is somehow drug-related, and I think that judges are more and more realizing that instead of going and trying to get more courts, more resources, during a time of limited resources, they're going to have to deal with the problem of alternatives to prosecution and incarceration to take the weight off of the criminal justice system.

Now, Gary may have some remarks to expand on that, and I don't want to take up all the time. All I can say is I'd like to advocate the strong legislative program that would encourage not mandatory sentencing but mandatory alternative use of resources and community resources for, especially, Black youth who may have committed drug-related crimes.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you very much, Judge.

Judge Ransom, are you ready now?

JUDGE RANSOM: Yes, a speech.

I'm pleased to have been invited to address this august body on a crucial issue we all face, and that is the future of the African-American males. I am speaking from the perspective of my role as a judge of the superior court of the State of California in and for the County of Sacramento.

I should further add that I've been sitting for several years hearing criminal matters, which means I've seen a lot of Black males.

I realize that we are expected to suggest legislation which might enable you to enact laws which might alleviate the problem. Unfortunately, it's an absolute truth that in the United States the situation that has gone so far as to reach the courts our hands are tied, and the problem resolutions that would be meaningful and effective are limited, but first, I would suggest that legislation is needed to ensure that our probation departments in every county are well-funded and manned. Currently, this simply is not so. Thus, even though it's our hope that when we place a person on probation, that they will be closely monitored and there'll be effective programs that they can go through which will guide them back to the road to recovery, that simply is not so. Thus, I suggest that you should take a look at the respective probation departments and see what can be done to make sure that they are up to the task of supervising folk so there there might be a true alternative to state prison. I can say this for Sacramento County: last year, we got a directive from the probation department saying, "Dear Judges of the Superior Court: You can put all the people you want on probation, but we're only going to take care of about 60 percent of them. We're going to prioritize."

Well, let me tell you, when the time comes when you think about what kind of sentences to impose, you worry about the fact that people might not be supervised. There's a dire need to ensure proper funding of our probation departments.

Secondly, as you all know, drugs are responsible for well more than half the criminal cases that are clogging our courts. I truly feel that there must be mandatory anti-drug classes at the elementary school level. Hopefully, this might negate a future court appearance.

Thirdly, time and time again, I hear from state prisoners who say, "You know, Judge, you're sending me here. I got a drug problem, but nothing's being done to treat it." At the level in state prison, the only facility we have is California Rehabilitation center, and their facilities are limited. Most of our men are not in that facility, which means that if they go through the state prison system as a drug addict, they will come out as a drug addict, commit a new crime, and go back to prison. That does not make good sense.

In my job as a superior court judge, I read thousands and thousands of probation reports which go into the backgrounds of our African-American males. Several things stick out. First, there is inadequate education. Secondly, they have extremely limited job skills, and thirdly, there is an enormous sense on their part that they have no future or hope. Those are all ingredients that lead to crime. You must do whatever has to be done to fight that.

I suggest that whatever can be done must be done to make our school systems functional and accountable. Generally speaking, I seldom have high school graduates appear before me, and I might say that I handle more prisoners on a superior court level than any judge in this county. This is pathetic, as it is clear that today's youngsters are far more intelligent and worldly than you and I were at their stage.

Finally, I feel that it should be mandated that part of the curriculum of school be a course in ethics. It saddens me that, time and time again, those who appear before me to a large degree have no sense of right or wrong.

In summation, albeit my remarks may seem to have a negative tenor about them, I am extremely optimistic about today's African-American male as I am confident that they have the potential to reach goals and have achievements far beyond what we have done. This potential will not be realized, unfortunately, unless the plague of drugs is defeated. Thus they will be able to envision what their futures should and could be. All signs say that the key for them will be education, and there there will be enough qualified personnel, because all the studies say there will not be enough qualified personnel in the immediate future to meet the demands of industry, science, and education during their lifetimes, which simply means that if they have the job, if they have the education, the jobs will be there. They'll be well paid, and if that happens, then we will have a situation where I feel a person will be judged by their qualification and not by the hue of their skins. I thank you for affording me this opportunity to address you.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Judge, I have a quick question. You said that one of your recommendations would be mandatory ethics classes to all grade school --

JUDGE RANSOM: That's right.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: I would assume it'd be high school.

JUDGE RANSOM: Elementary school, high school, whatever.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Elementary school or high school. Wouldn't you say that educational system and parents are included in this system, the family unit is included in this system, that as a system we are failing young Black males?

JUDGE RANSOM: Absolutely.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Because we are -- We have off-loaded our responsibility. You see a lot of parents say, "Well, it's up to the schools to teach our kids," and the teachers will tell you, "We would love to teach them, but these kids are coming to us with no discipline, oftentimes no nutritional background, so that when we get them, we can't deal with them." Wouldn't just another mandatory course on top of already something that is ineffective, wouldn't that as well be ineffective?

JUDGE RANSOM: I don't think so.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Our kids can't read their diplomas when they graduate, and our parents are not sitting there making sure that our kids are going to school. So what's to say that an ethics course is going to be effective?

JUDGE RANSOM: That's why I use that term "we must make our schools accountable." We must make sure that our schools are doing their jobs.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Without cutting you off, but wouldn't you also have to also put a stipulation in there that our parents have to become accountable as well?

JUDGE RANSOM: Oh, of course. That goes without saying.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Yeah. It goes without saying, but I think that the major problem in our communities is that our parents have abdicated their responsibility onto everyone else, and I don't think we're doing what we need to be doing as parents, and I think that's where we're losing our battle.

JUDGE RANSOM: There's no question about that. That's absolutely true. You know, I have a lot of kids appear before me whose parents have never stressed the value of education. one of the most disheartening things I see, and I see people who commit everything from rape to murder, is that people will shoot folks and say, "That person shouldn't have been in the way of the bullet." No sense that that's wrong.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Right.

JUDGE RANSOM: Of course, the family has got to come back. The neighborhoods have got to come back. When I was growing up, if you did anything on the way home, by the time you got there, the parents knew about it, and I got a licking. Today, that doesn't happen. You're not responsible. When I was coming up, everybody older than you and taller than you was Mr. or Miss So-and-So. That's gone. We need to bring those days back, where we have respect for each other, we have a sense of ethics, and we know what a bright future our kids could have if they got an education.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Now, we can't legislate that, so how would you suggest we go about getting that back in our communities?

JUDGE RANSOM: I think what you can legislate are the two courses that I've suggested and then make sure you have a monitoring system to make sure the schools are teaching it. Then you can't legislate it, but say you work through the black churches to make sure they have these little councils that will work in the school communities with the superintendent of schools to make sure that the schools are doing their job. This, in effect, will give the parents the idea that they do have input, that their ideas are important, because quite frankly, quite often I see parents who have limited education, and they're intimidated by saying, "Well, I'm going to go before this person. He's got a Ph.D. Dr. So-and-So doesn't want to hear from me." We have to develop a system so that parents feel comfortable challenging the school system to make sure they are doing their job.

ASSEMBLYMAN TUCKER: Thank you very much.

JUDGE RANSOM: All right. Got to go.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: No, no, no, you have to go?

JUDGE RANSOM: No.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Can you stay a minute?

JUDGE RANSOM: Okay.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. We want very quickly to hear the other two panelists, then we want to have a few questions, but we want to hear everybody's --

JUDGE RANSOM: Let me call my court.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Call your court, and tell them that you are being subpoenaed by the legislature.

All right. We want, which one do you want to go first? John, why don't you go first.

Next, I'd like to introduce attorney John Burris. Even though he's listed on the program as being a criminal lawyer, I know from riding up here today with John that only 30 percent of his cases are criminal, but if any of you wants to pay by the hour, he's willing to accept paying clients only. A lot of you all like to deal on contingency. He's not interested.

Mr. Burris.

MR. JOHN BURRIS: Thank you, Elihu. It's a pleasure to be here.

I might say -- I'm sure, Elihu, when he and I practiced together, was aware that a much higher percentage of my practice was in criminal defense. Part of the reason why I made a decision not to -- Part of the reason why I made the decision not to do as much was because of the high level of frustration that I have incurred watching young black males come through the judicial system.

It's very clear to me the pattern that has been established over the last several years that the criminal justice system can in no way impact in any significant way upon the plight of black males when they come through the criminal justice system. That is very much illustrated when you consider that with respect to the -- with respect to the war on drugs, as it has been euphemistically called, really has represented a war on black men, in particular those in the urban cities. The data, as I'm sure that all of you are aware, is ominous. It is for me something that I see every day when the courts are genuinely packed with defendants who have been accused of mostly drug cases.

I might say that the prosecution certainly has unlimited discretion, and it has certainly been my experience that there is a high level of indifference as it relates to the ultimate impact that their charging practices might have upon the life of a black male.

As such, when you see these, and I'm sure all of you are aware that there are over 600,000 young black men who are under the criminal justice system, either in prison, on probation, or in some way having their lives restricted, those numbers represent 23 percent of all black men.

The statistical data and the projections that they have out of the State of Florida certainly indicate that by 1994 that those numbers will be at least 50 percent for all those young blacks from the ages of 18 to 34. So obviously, we are in a situation where we have an ominous problem, one that can ultimately destroy the fabric of the black community, particularly when you look -- when you see the homicide rates that are here. I mean, we know the data that the highest killer of young black males is homicide. The highest cause of death, and there is -- I'm sure that Gary sees it, and Barry sees it, is the recklessness and the callousness that some of these young people killed other blacks.

Unfortunately, most of the people who are dying in the urban cities, certainly, at the hands -- in a violent way are drug-related, and young blacks are killing other young blacks.

I had a case very recently where I interviewed three young people between the ages of 19 and 22 who were involved in a shoot-out, and all three had been charged with a crime related to the shoot-out. Well, within two years, all three of those young men were dead themselves, and in listening to the story, two were killed in other shoot-outs, and one was killed by the police, and several -- a couple of those young men in my conversation with them were pretty engaging. I thought they had intelligence, that given another way to go, they certainly would have and could have been successful.

It's not uncommon in cases that I'm involved in where witnesses have been killed, and it's sort of frustrating to be involved in a case and plan around that case, and the witnesses are killed, and it's all based upon the economic considerations.

So in my view, the criminal justice system, as it presently operates, will ultimately cause -- or contribute greatly to the demise of young black males because it only has really one way to address the problem, and that is to incarcerate them or to put constraints on them, and the constraints that they place upon them ultimately are debilitating to the point that either they are removed from society totally, or if they are not removed, they have that kind of convictions that will not allow them to become meaningfully employed at a later date.

So when you felonize them because of these crimes, you ultimately remove them from the marketplace, and I often refer to that as full employment for white males, and it is certainly our responsibility to look and see if there's some other way to look at that. Certainly from a criminal justice perspective, there have been stop-gap measures that have been adopted where we've got a diversion program, where the Legislature has mandated that first-time offenders with relatively small amounts of drugs can be diverted from the criminal justice system.

I have found that that is such a judgment call, that a prosecutor makes a decision as to whether the amount is small enough or large enough to either allow them to participate in the program or not, and without any real due consideration as to the overall impact upon the person, it just seems to me that that is a very small way to address an overwhelming problem, because ultimately, the criminal justice system cannot and does not have the capacity to deal with the demand questions that are there or even deal with the economic considerations, and unless you can impact in any kind of positive way upon reducing the demand, there's no way you're going to be able to encourage young people not to participate in the system, particularly when the economics of it are huge, when you look at some of the dollars that are involved.

There are cases that, Gary has seen, where there's $40,000, $50,000, $100,000, and I had a case where a young guy, they were trying to put together a drug deal, and they lost $250,000, and that $250,000, in their own minds, was just the cost of doing business. I mean, they were prepared to take that risk.

Well, it's pretty hard to talk to that person about, "Well, you know, maybe you ought to go to work at Burger King or maybe you ought to go to work over here and make $5 an hour," when the guy makes $250,000 in one transaction. So in order to --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Kids are not stupid, and you can't lie to kids. They know what makes this system run is money.

MR. BURRIS: And another component that is extremely important and one that makes it difficult to counsel kids is that if a kid grows up in the projects or grows up in a deprived economic setting, and he starts making money, well, his mother, his aunt, his brothers, they all participate, and it becomes very difficult for the mother to maintain any kind of mental or emotional control over that child when she, too, is the beneficiary. That doesn't mean she's bad or negative. It means that she's never had any money before, and the kid comes in there with $10,000 in his pocket, and the woman is on welfare and won't get $10,000 for 3 years, it's pretty hard for her to tell them that it's wrong, even though she understands that the risk is there.

The callousness that I see in these kids is that the economic considerations are such that they are prepared to die. They are prepared to take whatever risks are necessary in order to make those dollars.

Now, the question is how do you impact upon it? I don't think that the criminal justice system can in any way impact upon that. For every Felix Metropher in Northern California that is arrested, there are five to take his place, and I'm sure it's that way in Los Angeles and San Diego and all the other cities. You can remove one segment of a drug cartel and it's just -- There are many more to take its place, and then you have the Turk wars that come out as a result of that, and that's why you have the high level of deaths that occur.

So I think that there has to be a whole re-thinking of how can we impact upon the economic motivation that is there as well as the demand.

Now, certainly there's a lot of arguments that you can put treatment programs together, and I think that from a legislative point of view, I do think that there are a significant number of people who go to jail, who are addicted or who are real users, and once they go to jail, they do not receive any form of treatment.

I was involved in a case where a mother under the influence of cocaine aborted two twin boys. Well, that was a notorious case. She was charged with murder, but the truth of the matter is she was an addicted person, and when she went into custody, there were no programs there to help her deal with that addiction, and but for my ability to get her out of custody, she would have languished in there. She would have suffered the pains of withdrawal and never would have had any way to come to grips with that.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: If she would have gotten off of it in jail. The prisons are notoriously overflowing with narcotics.

MR. BURRIS: I've been on panels with other people who have been in jail, for example Johnny Spain, and on a panel we were on, he made it abundantly clear, not that I have knowledge that this happens, but he made it abundantly clear that there's as much access to drugs in jail as there is outside of jail.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: So all you're doing is just warehousing them, and when you talk to the prison system, they will tell you, "Well, if we shut everything down, then they become unruly," or, "We really can't keep drugs out of the prison system," and we tell them, "Well, If you can't keep drugs out of a locked facility, how do you expect us to keep it out of our communities?"

MR. BURRIS: Well, there's no question that the housing of people represents a process that you got to keep them under control and whatever works to get that done, I tend to think that people are willing to operate in a way that will allow that to happen, and even though it may not be totally legal, it's a question of balancing out what are you trying to do here, and you certainly want to keep them happy and content in one sense, as opposed to having them erupt.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yeah, but then the State of California becomes one of the biggest drug dealers in the country, and we're not doing anything to address the problems of the kids that we sent to prison, and we sit there and say they now have to come out of prison and behave themselves. Well, we haven't done anything to address the problem. Send them there, they're often worse off when they come out, and they have no alternative but to return to crime, and that's why we're seeing this revolving door that we have now.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Let me interrupt a minute. What I'd like to do is move on to the next witness.

MR. BURRIS: I'm almost finished.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. Fine. I want you to finish.

MR. BURRIS: I want to make one additional point. I think this really calls for drastic action. I think it calls for a new way of looking at this, and I think that when there has been an unwillingness on the part of the people to consider how you can take out the economic components of this, and I think that we ought to consider what we know about the economics and violence that are the primary cause and effect that is occurring with respect to young black males in this drug business, and I think that we ought to consider whether or not it makes more sense to look at the question of decriminalization and legalization of drugs for the express purpose of trying to save these people from killing themselves or thinking they can get rich very quickly, and we ought to, then, secondly, we ought to re-order the moneys that we are allocating to the war on drugs and spend less money on local interdiction and local policing and spend more money on the questions of treatment and all the ramifications that are related to treatment that's associated with treatment and education, because to do otherwise, this is a revolving door that's going to continue to occur, and then we're going to lose two and three generations, and we will never recapture, and when you have black guys going to jail, you have their families going to jail with them. You have people spending their Sundays and weekends going to jail and thereby not moving their own lives away. Everybody becomes static, and the rest of the world is going forward, and so we have to think about how we can truly impact upon the factors that motivate these young people to commit these crimes.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Burris.

Mr. Johnson, Mr. Raymond Johnson, is the Chief of Police of Inglewood and known for being innovative, creative, and certainly someone very knowledgeable about the drug problem, not only in his own area but in the state of California. He has been a witness before a number of Legislature hearings, including one called by the Speaker earlier this year, and Mr. Johnson, and Chief, we're very pleased to have you with us.

MR. RAYMOND JOHNSON: Assemblyman Harris, thank you very much. Assemblyman Tucker. I didn't forget his name because he's from my area.

I'd like to just make an observation, Chairman Harris. Today's a special day for me. I just noted when I walked in that it's my thirtieth anniversary in this business, and so I've seen a few hard times.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Can't tell, sir. We all ought to give you our congratulations for survival, if nothing else.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes. I was going to mention that.

My presentation might take a little different approach than my -- the other panel members here, but I hope you will indulge and let me walk through it, and then afterwards, if you have any questions, I'll do my best to answer them.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yes. We're going to ask all of you questions. We're going to try to pit you against each other.

MR. JOHNSON: As a police chief, of course, as I indicated, 31 years in law enforcement, and of course, now assigned in a highly urbanized Southern California community, I'm in the position of witnessing daily the hopelessness and despair that regrettably has become the trademark of the African-American male. Through my exposure to the conditions that have placed black males in jeopardy, particularly as it relates to the law enforcement contact, it may be frequent, but it has not lost its shock with me.

In a civilized society where social order is valued, individual or group peril is first manifested and ultimately reflected in the extent of control to which persons are under the supervision of the criminal justice system that we admit is not working, and so it was particularly alarming to me earlier this year, and we've heard these stats before, when I had a sentencing project point out that one of four black men in their twenties is in jail, in prison, or otherwise under the control of the criminal courts through probation or control.

In sheer numbers, as Mr. Burris indicated to you earlier, that translates into over 600,000 young black men in prison instead of being in the higher institutions of learning. By contrast, about 6 percent of white men in their twenties are being held or supervised by the criminal courts, and more than four times as many white men are in college as under the courts' management.

We need not be reminded that murder is common in poor black areas and is now spreading to other areas. Homicide is the leading killer among young men between the ages of 15 and 30. We also recognize that one out of every 130 Americans will become a murder victim. However, among black men, the estimate is drastically higher: one out of every 30, and that is rising. Forty-five percent of all homicide victims in the United States are black, and this dreadful fact, that suicide rates for black males have tripled during the last three decades, and it's not surprising that black men are the only American group to lose life expectancy during the last decade.

I am told that a black man living in Harlem, and we've all heard this quoted, has less chance of reaching 65 than a poor man in Bangladesh. Although blacks make up only 12 percent of our overall population, slightly more black inmates than whites now occupy state prisons. We all understand that prisons are not rehabilitating. They are not equipped. They do not have the resources, and we're sending them too many customers.

Slightly more black inmates than whites are causing an enormous cost and toll on all of us. Nationwide, the costs of imprisoning and monitoring black males under the court's control costs a staggering $2.5 billion annually. Noting this tragic waste of resources, representative John Conyers of Michigan remarked, "Surely, we as a nation can aspire to more with this money than continue a vicious cycle of hate and despair."

Black males are more likely to be caught up in an illicit narcotic transaction. Heterosexual intravenous drugs users account for more than one third of the AIDS cases among black men, who are dieing disproportionately from that and other diseases like cancer.

While I do not pretend to be a sociologist, anthropologist, or psychologist, my ethnic heritage, combined with my personal station, permits me, indeed compels me, to make some observations about what contributory factors prompted the Sing-Sing report by Mike Moore to conclude, "We now risk the possibility of writing off an entire generation of black men from leading productive lives.

Blacks may well be handicapped from the cradle, in that teens now account for one of every four black births. 60 percent of all black babies are born out of wedlock, and over 40 percent of black families are currently headed by single mothers.

With so many black males in prison, we can expect a dearth of fathers and husbands from this generation to the next. The cycle of family deterioration will be nearly impossible to break in a nation where the high school drop-out rate is an alarming 30 percent. Blacks quit school 50 percent above whites, and the fraction of college-bound blacks has dropped from 34 percent in 1976 to 26 percent in 1985 and is constantly rising.

The absence of essential skills is deplorable. McDonalds put more black teenagers to work than any other employer in American, but listen to this: Lee Dunham, who is the president of the Black McDonald's Owner-operators Association reports that of the inner-city teenagers employed by the chain, 80 percent cannot calculate change, and they must rely on a computerized register.

That 70 percent of the prison inmates are school drop-outs should come as no surprise to you. You've heard from the earlier people who preceded me what's happening in our institutions. We know that they are not being educated and they are not being rehabilitated. They are being punished, but in many respects, they are not. I will refer and make some reference to that a little later on.

No diploma often means no job. Today, 20 percent of all young black men report no income at all. According to the Joint Center for Political and Economic studies, blacks once able to work in an auto plant, steel mill, and the ability to support families without the benefit of a diploma may have been stripped of such opportunities. These jobs have disappeared. Gone too are the massive federal job training programs that made a difference. One third of all black families languish in poverty.

Black males not in school are susceptible to the dangers of the streets. I know that all too well. In Los Angeles County an estimated 40 percent of the 80,000 plus gang members are black youths and young adults. The unemployment rate among black inner-city teenagers is the highest of any American group, at nearly 50 percent.

Such conditions have helped to lure too many of our young children to the lucrative drug dealing business as we've heard about before. Many young black men say to themselves, "I don't have anything. I can't get a job. I lost my chance to get an education, but I'm still going to get mine one way or the other." If this thinking sounds morally corrupt, it's not unique to blacks. A recent study on the ethics of American youth reveals that 89 percent of youth between the ages of 18 and 29 believe their generation is far more selfish and materialistic than the previous generations. This study shows that cheating in high schools is rampant and resume fraud is common.

How can we expect those children to choose to work for less than $5 per hour in a local fast food outlet when they can earn between $200 and $500 hundred a day as look-out doing drugs or at some other job related to drug selling? Even the threat of going to prison is a weak deterrent. It has been calculated that in many major American cities a single adult on his or her own needs a minimum of $21,000 to live or maintain a decent standard of living. But in prison, inmates are given free room and board, health care, entertainment, and recreation, and it is a sad day when many of them would much rather go to prison than fight to live on the mean streets of a Los Angeles County or Oakland or wherever it may be.

Today, we can say that black males are in prison in frighteningly high numbers due to alleged inequities in sentencing practices or, as has been suggested, because there is a greater police presence in our minority communities. So the probability of detention and arrest is increased. Whatever the reasons, one fact remains: We have more than doubled the incarceration rate and doubled the prison population in this county and most certainly in this state during the last decade, and what do we have to show for it? Not a lot. We have a lot of sadness. we have a lot of despair and helplessness that I have to deal with as a police chief in an urban area.

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished Assembly members, I'm pleased to be here today as I was last year and talk about the conditions of African-American males. However, I am simultaneously a little dismayed. I gave similar testimony last year on the imperiled condition of the black children. I ask you, will such testimony become an annual ritual?

Two decades have passed since President Lyndon Johnson declared the only genuine long range solution for what has happened lies in an attack mounted at every level upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. While some progress has been made in the emergence of a new black middle class, a whole new generation of black Americans has been ushered into what is now being referred to as a permanent underclass.

I'm just one of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of civic leaders who've addressed countless commissions and committees in the years since Harlem exploded in 1964. Scores of ideas, plans, and programs with the potential to reverse our history of poverty, missed opportunities, and isolation have been presented, yet these grand plans have consistently been undermined by political, social, and financial constraints. We are all to blame.

If my resolve seems strong and my patience weak, it is because, unlike legislators, judges, attorneys, and legions of Americans who advocate to preserve the status quo, I am awakened regularly in the middle of the night. I answer the phone to the somber announcement that yet another young black man has been brutally murdered, and each time I respond to this grisly scene, one of those homicides, I cannot help but wonder if there would be some change, however painfully slow, if there were some government leaders like you and many other at my side to see this grisly scene.

It's time for the rhetoric to give way to action. We all know that. The solutions are no longer, nor have they ever been, well-guarded secrets. We need better health care in the country to cut the infant mortality rate for black babies, which is currently twice the rate of white babies. We must have quality daycare and more enriched pre-school programs, such as Headstart. Our school classroom size should be reduced. More black male teachers should be hired, and a curriculum that teaches students to resolve conflicts non-violently must be included.

As with our churches, schools must become the center of community life, offering parenting education, school-based clinics, preventive medicine, tutoring, mentoring, and a comprehensive job training program. Programs such as the acclaimed DARE and SANE, which warn against the devastation of drugs, bolster fragile esteem, and empower our children with necessary skills to make sound decisions about their lives, should be mandatory in every California school.

A virtually identical menu of educational and related services should be, and I mind you, provided in all state prisons. Every inmate should be compelled to learn a salable skill or trade and earn at least a general education diploma. No skills, no diploma, no parole.

Though I subscribe to the theory that poverty does not breed crime, the despair that accompanies poverty without the promise of any relief has the capacity to draw people into lifestyles that they might never otherwise consider. American government must join forces with the private sector to create job training, hiring programs that will put black males back on the payroll and into the mainstream. We must find some way to counteract the decline of the American basic manufacturing industry. We need to improve access to military careers, which now require increasingly technical entry skills, and we need to restore government job opportunities.

Since World War II, civilian government employment have consistently been a promoter of upward mobility for blacks. The legacy of the 1980's, and I need not remind this body that the 1980 politics included not only the elimination of vital social service programs but the sharp reduction of government jobs.

For true black progress and success, we will need to help ourselves. We will need to help ourselves. The frightening trend in which successful blacks are fleeing the cities for the comforts of the white suburban lifestyle, leaving few leaders and mentors to lead the revitalization of our troubled neighborhoods, presents a unique dilemma. J. Clay Smith, a successful black law professor at Howard University captured my sentiment eloquently when he said that blacks who have been able to elevate themselves have a fundamental obligation to lift as they climb. Massive help -- massive help must come from successful black Americans like ourselves. 1960's activist Eldridge Cleaver said that if you're not a part of the solution, you're a part of the problem. Each one of us must become a part of the solution by donating time in our communities, and if that community is not a black community, I mean specifically in the black community as a big brother, a big sister, a mentor, a coach, a tutor, a counselor, and a trainer.

Shaping values and changing faulty attitudes will require a leadership role as well --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Can I get you to quit and summarize, because I want to have the other --

CHIEF JOHNSON: I'm finished.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay.

CHIEF JOHNSON: Though many of these attitudes are certainly not unique to blacks, limited resources and vulnerability to exploitation and the absence of stabilizing forces in the community is as well.

I appreciate your taking the time to listen to me about the plight of the African-American male. It is characterized as a vicious cycle. Like bad habits, vicious cycles are enormously difficult to break. It will require a Herculean task, and that task is before us.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you.

I want to thank you, Chief Johnson, for that eloquent testimony. I'd also like to just give you a little feedback immediately, some of my reaction to what you said.

Just as it's frustrating for you to testify, we're just as frustrated to have to sit here and listen, but it's obviously necessary that we come together and share a perspective, and obviously, all the people in the audience who share your viewpoint by virtue of their applause, but I think that we all need to do a little bit more than share rhetoric and perspective, and I want to tell the people in the audience that one of the reasons that we in the Legislature have been frustrated over the last 8 years is we've had George Deukmejian as the Governor, and --

Wait, wait, wait. Don't be clapping, because what I got to say you're going to be mad about.

The reason we got George Deukmejian as Governor is because black folks didn't vote. So I'm suggesting you all know what's happening in ten days. If we get Pete Wilson, don't come back here next year and be clapping about what Ray Johnson said about the system.

We can move bills to the Governor. They all get vetoed. We know what to do. We still have the expertise and the advocacy. We got a guy downstairs don't give a damn about none of you all, okay? So if you want somebody else who looks just like him, you sit at home on Tuesday, November the sixth, and not be out not only voting yourselves but getting your friends and neighbors and all those people on welfare and all these people who claim that they're concerned about change to demonstrate their commitment by voting. Nelson Mandela can't vote. You can. So if you don't care about it, then don't come here and join folks come in and do something. We've got to move beyond rhetoric, and I'm with you on that.

Okay. Barbara.

MS. BARBARA LEE: Okay. Chief Johnson, members of the panel, I sincerely appreciate being able to be here with you today and to listen to your testimony.

Initially, I was going to ask the question, what type of a legislative agenda should members of the Assembly put forth next year. However, I believe that Chief Johnson has adequately laid out what some of the -- you know, laws should be, and what we should really be looking at, and so what I want to say to BAPAC, however, is that it's only when the street heat, as Jessie says, is applied too will any of this genocidal problem be addressed, and I think before this weekend is over, we need to sit down and figure out how BAPAC as a statewide organization can begin to work with our elected officials here in Sacramento to actually put that heat on so we can actually begin to enact some of these policies that we need to see happen.

Secondly, I'd like to just ask the panel in terms of the prison construction bond ballot measures, every election now there are more and more bond measures on the ballot, billions of dollars are being spent now to construct prisons which now, I believe, they're projecting will incarcerate our kids who are in kindergarten, and you know these are African-American males. So I would just like to ask the panel if you could give us some kind of input into how you see these prison initiatives and what we need to do, because clearly, the resources are there to address some of our problems at a fundamental level.

MR. BURRIS: Yeah. The problem with prisons is not so much --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Can everybody hear?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: All right. Speak into the mike, John.

MR. BURRIS: The problem with more prisons is that -- Look. If you have laws and you have enforcement and you're going to be sending people to prisons, then you have to decide what kind of places they're going to be. I mean, I don't think anybody wants to send people to prisons like they had in the old days, where they were all inhumane, they were crowded, they were in a bad state of affairs where physically it was very difficult place for people to be. On the other hand, you don't want them to go to country clubs either, I suppose, but the problem I see on that is it doesn't really address the real problems from an African-American point of view because it doesn't do anything about how do you keep people from going to prison because that's what the real questions are as far as I'm concerned.

Now, on the other hand, you say, "I'm not going to have any more prisons, and therefore I'll be less inclined to send people to prisons." That's another question, but I don't think that's what everyone is saying. They're basically saying, "As long as we're going to enforce -- As long as we have these laws and we enforce them, we're going to be sending people to prisons," and therefore, you have to decide whether or not you want them to be in an inhumane kind of condition or you want them to have a reasonably good facility, and so it's sort of a two-edged sword, and I don't know the answer to that, but you've got to look at it from the point of "What are we really trying to accomplish here, and what is the genesis of -- that are causing people to go to prison?"

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Before you do that, I want to ask some questions in order -- That's why I'm going to allow you to stay.

First of all, if you look at the drug problem as a supply and demand basis, I want to ask you this, Chief Johnson: Is there anything that we can do on the supply side that you would suggest, or is the supply side something that's beyond our control? We haven't been successful with interdiction. Our arrest strategies haven't been very successful, and neither has prosecution or incarceration, but are there things that you think we might be doing on the supply side to free our communities of the availability of drugs, or is that simply a wasted effort?

CHIEF JOHNSON: Well, no. I don't think it's a wasted effort, but from a purely law enforcement perspective, or from a legislative perspective, I don't know if there's anything that you can do with that, because as long as we have the economic situation, that's going to happen, and if we could do something --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: (Inaudible).

CHIEF JOHNSON: Yes. If we could reduce the demand for the drugs, and people are taking drugs because they don't have anything else in their lives so they're going to take the drugs, and we've dealt with this issue for a long time, there will be those entrepreneurs who will go and take advantage of this, but legislatively, I don't know if there's anything else we can do. We tried all techniques to deal with that issue, and really, we have overworked all of our people.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Well, let me ask you a controversial question that -- you can probably pose what it is, but is legalization or decriminalization a legitimate option from the profit standpoint of the drugs?

CHIEF JOHNSON: No. It is not. That is not an option, and I'm not necessarily speaking from a law enforcement perspective, but I think we've gone too far too long, and if you tried to do that here with the THC content of the marijuana and all the other things, we'll have nothing but chaos, farther removed from what we have right now, and can I address the question --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yes, but I want you to talk to me about the legalization and decriminalization. The reason I ask that is that a lot of people in the communities that I represent feel that they are the victims of the profit motive of the drugs. They're the ones who are having their houses robbed, who are having their money stolen, their cars victimized, where cars are being fenced in order to fuel the profits of the drugs. The women, for example, who get food stamps and trade their food stamps for a cocaine brick, the women on welfare trading their welfare checks to the drug dealer for a $20 brick, I mean, those are the kinds of things that are very disturbing, and I don't know the answer to them. Obviously, if they didn't have the addiction, then it would be irrelevant. There aren't many people being forced to buy or utilize drugs, but I guess I'm concerned because -- and also when we seem to be able to stop cocaine or crack and people found an alternative drug like methamphetamine or heroin. So I just don't know, again, whether or not it is a never-ending circle, but I just wonder whether or not there's anything to the profit aspect of this that gives it --

CHIEF JOHNSON: You're always going to have that, and even if you decriminalize it, you're still going to have the profit motive by those who tend to prey upon those that are already at the bottom end of the scale.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. That's fine.

MR. BURRIS: Let me ask a question on the profits question.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yes.

MR. BURRIS: Yes. You said the economic factor is, at least in the individuals I see daily, this is a strong motivating component on it, and when I hear this cannot affect the profit motive, I determine -- Well, what did we do when we had the prohibition questions that were there? That was motivating it. I mean, that's when we had the gangs and gangsters, Al Capone and all those guys, and the lesser guys whom we don't know about today but who got criminal punishment. Those people were motivated by the economic component of it, and once that was taken out, you don't have massive, large amounts of profit being made by bootleggers on alcohol and stuff. So I don't know why this is necessarily different. It may be, and that's why I think hat maybe we ought to talk about it.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: That's why I raised that question. Some people don't think we should talk about it, but we've got to talk about all the questions.

MR. BURRIS: But I'm not convinced of that argument that profit motive would be there either in decriminalization or legalization. I think it still would be there with respect to decriminalization, but maybe not, but I think that the profit motive is the primary motivating factor for the majority of what's going on with the violence and the distribution of these drugs, and if you take that all, then you'll go a long ways toward reducing and de-felonizing these black men.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Well, could either one of you, who are sentencing and trying these people, have any perspective on that aspect of what you face?

JUDGE RANSOM: I absolutely disagree with the idea that we should decriminalize in any way, shape, or form drugs.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay.

JUDGE RANSOM: You know, you can talk about alcohol. You can take one or two martinis and then walk away from it, but you fool around with that crack, you're on it for life.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Uh-huh.

JUDGE RANSOM: I feel if we decriminalize drugs, it will be the ultimate demise of us as a people.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. All right. Judge Loncke, do you have any comments.

I want you all to listen and think rather than just clap.

JUDGE LONCKE: I'm taking sort of a judicial approach to this question. I think the jury's still out as to whether -- whether we should look into decriminalization. I think it has to be considered. We've done it in terms of marijuana already. We've looked at it. We continue to look at it. I think that there's nothing wrong with continuing, reassessing the problem. I would say this, however: that one of the major things that the Legislature could do would be to give back some discretion to judges such as Gary Ransom to handle people who are lightweight offenders by giving them misdemeanors instead of felonies, don't put all the power into the hands of the prosecutor, give some more discretion to judges and make them accountable.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Well, one of the things that I've heard John Burris cite, and I don't know if he wants to stand by it today, but he -- at one point he'd said, and this was on national TV. I assume that you don't want to withdraw. Okay. And that was that John Burris said 80 percent of the people in this country who use drugs are white, but 80 percent of the people who go to jail for using drugs are black.

You stand by it?

MR. BURRIS: I stand by it.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: All right. Now, why don't you go ahead and reiterate that.

MR. BURRIS: Well, I think that the --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: All the white folks are going to be mad.

MR. BURRIS: I didn't develop the numbers. These are numbers that I -- These are not numbers I developed. The numbers that have come out is that 80 percent of the people who use cocaine in this country are white and 80 percent of the people who go to jail are black, or non-white. I didn't mean just blacks, but it's basically blacks and Hispanics and other poor people. That is a clear number, and that, to me, raises this whole question about are we doing this thing right. On the one hand we have a group of the population using the drugs and getting -- having access to them, but the people who are paying the price for that distribution are essentially the poor dealers and the poor people on the streets. Those are primarily black and poor people. They're the ones who then get the felony records and would then become unemployable when they get out of jail. So they're the ones who are suffering, and they're paying the most.

The reason why that came about is that when you look at the money that has been allocated by the President's people, and it's like a huge -- billions of dollars, 75 percent of that money went to local law enforcement, to the individual local police departments, and the local police departments are primarily arresting the black people on the streets, and so we're saying, "Well, wait a minute. We ought not look at it that way." If most of the people are using it, how come we can't get the people who are actually using it and not wind up arresting just the people who seem to be the easiest to catch the most successful --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Well, that begs the question to, from the law enforcement standpoint and from the judicial standpoint, but you know, is it our arrest procedures, our policing procedures that result in that phenomenon? Is it just an accident that we seem to be able to focus on he black user, rather than the white user? We know, for example, even in Oakland, many of the people who come to purchase drugs even in the black community are white, they take those drugs back to Concord and Livermore and whatever else, and whereas they may not be directly responsible for the violence, they're indirectly responsible in that the black folks are fighting for turf, are fighting for turf to sell the white users the drugs. So I guess I'm trying to figure out -- and from the standpoint of the judiciary when they're enforcing law, you know, does it have to do with the kind of sentences that we give, and I'm not talking about the fairness of the sentences so much as the fact that the people who are coming before you are black and they seem to be disproportionate in number, what does it mean? I mean, if that statistic is correct, and you may want to contradict it, is there something that's happening in terms of law, or something in terms of arrest procedures or practices that make that a reality?

JUDGE RANSOM: What is the reality is that we as a people today are economically poor.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yes.

JUDGE RANSOM: So we are committing the crimes. We're doing the burglaries where the other person doesn't have to do that. They have these jobs, and they get this money so they can legitimately buy things without having to rob and steal to get it.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay.

JUDGE RANSOM: But it brings up a point. There was a study done recently, and it was actually an article on public TV where they pointed out this person, it was either Mississippi or Louisiana, who made it possible -- he went to a black school, promised every kid there if they got good grades and stayed out of trouble, he would give them a scholarship. All those people graduated. Not one of them got into crime. It's cheaper to send a person to Harvard than it is for me to send them to Folsom State Prison. Let's go open some scholarships.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: (Inaudible) we don't have the choice. It's not either/or, "I've got $20,000. What do I do with it?"

The problem is that we've got these criminal justice laws. When you send them to jail, you got to pay to keep them there. Now, if you're going to send them to jail --

JUDGE RANSOM: Yes, but you also said, "Judge, if a person is convicted of this, you must do A, B, and C. You have no discretion."

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Wait a minute. I didn't say that.

JUDGE LONCKE: No. Part of what a legislative agenda could be is that you could reduce the mandatory jail sentences, thereby giving some of the discretion back to the judge, and I think that's what Judge Ransom --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I've always supported judicial discretion, and I believe in it, even when it's wrong.

Okay.

CHIEF JOHNSON: This is Chief Johnson.

I'd just like to kind of collectively respond to some of the things that we just talked about, and the last one I'd take first. I think we have to be very careful about what we're talking about here, and since we only have a short amount of time to discuss it in terms of discretion, and I know that they need that kind of discretion, but what I do know is you place an additional burden, and when we talk about legislative things, things that you can legislate, and there are no resources, that it would require additional probation officers and those guys to present a report to the judge to make sure that this person is -- the circumstances are there and that sort of thing. So we cannot be too slipshod about, or haphazard about, making suggestions about making legislative changes.

I think we have to really take a look at that, and that may be a subject for another hearing. Not only that, but the issue of a supply and demand issues and the other matter about the courts, and I'd -- I mean, the prisons.

I'd like to answer the question about the bonds. We are now at a situation in our streets and in our neighborhoods that if we don't have some place to put some of the people -- Look. Some of them are lost, and I think the judges would admit that once the kids get involved in the criminal justice system, they're lost, mind, now, regardless of what got them there, and I've been dealing with this for 31 years, and it's gotten worse, not better. So apparently all of us have failed in that regard. So we don't need to throw stones. We need to start dealing with the issue, but we need to, number one, provide some place to put those violent criminals so they don't -- Because the biggest demand I get when I go to community meetings is that, "Chief, I didn't see a patrol car come by. I didn't see any presence. You're not arresting those people who are selling dope. You're not getting those people out of the community who robbed my house." They mean "burglarized my house," but they say "robbed my house." I know exactly what they mean.

So now, am I getting a mixed message? No, I'm not. These kids are very violent that we have out there, and they could care less, and so if you say you're going to send them away to an institution for a while and they're going to be locked down, it just slightly gets their attention, but we must put away those who are going to create problems for the rest of us. We have a minority of a minority creating terror and intimidating the rest of us who want to live a good life in our neighborhoods, and we have to have a place to put them away, and we've got to pay for it. We can't have it both ways.

Now, because what I hear is, "Lock the little rascals up," okay? And I see my job as more than that, as locking them up, but there are some that have to be locked away because they are a danger to the rest of the society. So if we're going to allow five percent of our society to create terror and intimidation for the rest of us, then I think that's wrong, and we've got to find some place to put them.

Now, at the same time, again, this is all a money issue. We need to provide some of those things that I talked about in my presentation. We've got to be able to do it. If we did it on the front end, we wouldn't have to worry about putting them in jail first of all, but we haven't done that, and so now we have to deal with it, and taxes, yes, we're going to have to pay for some of these things, and no, you can't put all the prisons in the desert. Everybody wants to lock them up, but they don't want them in their back yard, but we've got to put them some place, and let me tell you something. A prison's probably the safest thing you can have in your back yard, the way some of these people are shooting and carrying on. At least you have cops going through the neighborhood every now and then, but I would say those bond measures for that, we absolutely have to have a place to put the people now, and you know, we're turning them out, and you can ask the judge. I now that he's releasing people, both of them, having to release people that they do not want to release, and Sheriff Craig here in Sacramento County and Sheriff Block in Los Angeles County is having to release criminals that surely do not need to be released back out into the community because there's no room in the inn because it says, look, you can only put 23,000 here and no more, and you can't have them on the roof where they would like to be or any of those kinds of things. So I think we'd better think that out also, and once we remove all those and start working with these young kids, then we don't have to worry about these prisons any more. We can just have schools and community things and things like that.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you. I want to say one other thing. Just -- I don't believe you've been in law enforcement for 31 years. You don't look old enough for that, unless you started off as a traffic boy.

CHIEF JOHNSON: No, Mr. Harris. I did. I started off when -- I was an old man when I started.

JUDGE LONCKE: Can I echo -- This is Judge Loncke. I'd like to echo the Chief's statement here. The justice system right now is particularly unable to distinguish those 5 percent that terrorizes the community from those who are in the justice system who might have avenues to get out of the path to nowhere. If we had one legislative agenda that would be very helpful to the justice system, it would be, as Gary Ransom said, to improve probation services so that we have the ability to distinguish the real truly dangerous offender from those who can be rehabilitated.

Right now, the law, basically from a mostly white Legislature, I think, has the impression that all people charged and all people convicted of a particular crime, especially those of color, are dangerous, and that's not necessarily so. We have to be able to distinguish the dangerous ones from the ones who are able to benefit.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Let me throw out an idea of a bill that I had that I carried with a Republican legislator that was vetoed by the Governor setting up disciplinary schools, basically, schools without locks, but etc., but they were basically schools that had rules, regulations, and you had to stay in them for whatever period of time. It was my equivalent to what they used to do when I was growing up where they'd say, "Go to the Army or go to jail," and the Governor obviously didn't want to fund it, and we tried to do it with non-profits and on a pilot project basis, but would that be a kind of an alternative that might be available or might be utilitarian for some of these kids who perhaps if they could just get into a structured environment with clear rules and order that they might be able to get back on the right track, or do you have another idea in terms of how we deal with alternatives to the traditional incarceration of these kids where these kids perhaps could be straightened out?

JUDGE LONCKE: Well, Gary may be able to go into that in depth, but I think that's a good idea if you had an ability to distinguish those people who would benefit from that kind of --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Well, I mean, that's what I guess you would have to do, right.

JUDGE LONCKE: Well, we'd have to have the probation services available to help us.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: (Inaudible) some probation, but obviously whatever information you had, you're going to have to utilize in rendering a decision.

JUDGE LONCKE: That's correct. We'd have to be able to rely on it. Right now, you just don't have the reliability available because of the lack of resources in that area.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I see. Judge (inaudible) okay.

JUDGE RANSOM: No. I think what we've shown is that we've got an enormous problem. I really don't know. I'm not a legislator, don't want to be a legislator.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Yeah. It'd be easier to point a finger.

JUDGE RANSOM: That's right. I'm just the person whose hands are tied by the laws of the past. That's okay, but I'll at least say this: You asked earlier about judges being involved. I think if you asked for the California Judges Association, we'd send representatives here. I think if you write to the chair of the Judges Group of the California Association of Black Lawyers, we'll have judges here, and we are concerned. You know, it is not enough for me to just sit there on the bench and hand down sentences and see people come through like a revolving door. I'd just as soon not see people come to my court at all. I'd like to be gainfully unemployed.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: All right. John Burris, would you like to summarize any thoughts you have on what we said today?

MR. BURRIS: Well, I think it's pretty clear that the criminal justice system -- the criminal justice system, if it goes along its present path, will contribute greatly to the ultimate demise of the African-American male, that for us to impact in any way to stemming the tide, we have to find some way to reduce the economic aspects as well as the violence that these young men are engaging in, and unless we do that, then the criminal justice system will just be like a railroad, and we'll be sending people perpetually from a starting point in the courthouse to state prison, and it will be a revolving train going back and forth where ultimately the black male will not ever participate in any meaningful way to the social fabric of this country.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. Thank you very much. Let's give this panel a hand for outstanding testimony.

Wait. Don't get up now. Barbara, you've got one more thing.

MS. LEE: I just wondered real quick. Okay. You know, this time next year, I hope we can come back and have a program, or at least have impacted this problem in some way. What I want to ask each panel member is, while you're here, if we can have one person from each panel to volunteer to, in December, get together with the members of the Legislature to talk about how to begin to develop a legislative agenda. Now, I have an election, and in 10 days, hopefully, I will win, if I walk enough precincts between now and November sixth. So I will be willing to after then call this meeting, but I definitely --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Well, I would say, certainly both judges are here in Sacramento, and I know that they are very --

MS. LEE: To meet with me in December on each panel.

JUDGE LONCKE: We're both able, I'm sure.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. Right on. Well, you got two judges here, and we obviously can call the others if they're available, and I'm sure there's a distance problem, but you're available, I'm sure, at least by telephone, and if in no other way, and same thing with John, and John's in your district, Barbara.

MS. LEE: Yeah. I'll call John.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Okay. Okay. Thank you very, very much.

All right. I'd like to next call forward Dr. Warren Valdry and Mr. Ron Johnson. Mr. Valdry is the representative of -- I don't know if he's the president of One Hundred Black Men of Los Angeles. Mr. Johnson is the consultant for California State Department of Education from Los Angeles.

All right, gentlemen. If you would come forward please, have a seat, and -- Why don't we start with Mr. Johnson.

Gentlemen, if you could each limit your testimony to about 10 minutes, and we could have a few minutes for questions, we'd be appreciative. We got a little behind with the last panel, and it's not your problem, but we'd appreciate your help.

MR. RON JOHNSON: No problem.

You heard all the stats, so I won't go back over the stats, but I will say this: that one thing that has been left out is that children are taught how to be men, and talking about boys, we need to understand that birds teach birds how to fly, fish teach fish how to swim, and it's men who teach men how to be men. So with all the stats that we've heard, what our concern is that we begin to erect programs in the neighborhoods to teach black boys how to be black men, and we want to emphasize the point that nobody else in the world can teach a black boy how to be a black man except black men. So we advocate rights of passage programs, because in -- Wherever you live, there are a set of experiences that boys go through to establish themselves as men, and on the streets, on he streets everywhere in the state, boys learn four things on the street as to what it means to be a man.

Number one, on the street, if you want to be perceived and respected as a man, you have to have some income. It matters not how you attain that income, but you must have some.

Number two, on the street if you want to be a man, you have to be violent enough at least to defend yourself, but the streets have gotten so mean that you have to be able to strike first and apologize afterwards if you have to.

Number three, on the street, if you want to be perceived as a man, you have to be sexually active, and that's why so many boys lie about how much sex they have, because someone has made them think that their manhood is deep in their pants and not in their heads.

Number four, on the street, it's all on the East Coast, it's new out in the West, that if you want to be perceived as a man, you got to go off to jail, and if you survive that experience, then you an come back and say, "I'm a man," and we tell young men all the time, "If you think those four things make you a man, go home and conduct an experiment. Lock yourself in he bathroom, take your penis and two dollars, throw it in your hand, and pretend to be violent, and you will find that those four things don't make you a man," and I speak to you as we speak with them. So if by chance you speak with them, they know.

So we advocate a comprehensive rite of passage program that is based on ten steps. One, the personal rite of passage, which says that life is hard for everyone, and so if you're going to make it through this life, you have to accept that life is hard, and when you do that, then you need to not stop your life but then add into your life those skills that you need to make your life productive. One, you need a sense of self esteem. Two, you need to be linked with someone that loves you, because when you are a child, if you're loved by an adult, that adult will guide you on the right path and not the path of those who are lost, and three, you need to have a plan for your life, and once you have that plan, you then need to be taught those skills that are important in terms of actualizing that which you have planned for your life. Four, that we need to reinstitute the idea in the minds of our kids, the idea of hard work. My mom and your mom taught us that just because we're black and we live in the country, that historically, not by mistake but by -- design. Thank you, brother -- that sought to destroy black men. So we have to teach our kids how to work hard.

Two, the spiritual rite of passage says --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: You lost count. You're going backwards.

MR. JOHNSON: No. The first rite of passage contains all of that. The first rite of passage contains all of hat.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Oh, all that was one?

MR. JOHNSON: That's all the first one.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I thought there was ten steps.

MR. JOHNSON: There's ten steps.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: All right. All right.

MR. JOHNSON: Because life is hard, number two is the spiritual rite of passage, which says that yes, indeed life is hard, but I will struggle to improve our lives as God prescribed and God supported.

You see, because on the street, for instance, believe that either you have heart or you don't have heart, and we try to teach boys, for instance, that heart comes from -- not innate but from your hook-up with God, that Moses was afraid to oppose

Pharaoh, just as some black men are afraid to oppose the country, just as some black men or folks in the Assembly may be afraid to oppose, as you said, Deukmejian.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: No. I didn't say that. Don't go to that one. Ain't nobody afraid of that ass-hole.

MR. JOHNSON: Well, brother, know if we don't go -- If we don't come out and vote for whatever reason we say, why ever we laugh, if we don't vote to move out of office those people who don't meet our needs, then something is wrong with us, and that which is wrong with us is that we have internalized in our lives our own oppression. So what we teach in the spiritual right of passage is that God is on our side.

Three, the economic right of passage is where we teach black boys that if you're going to be a man, you must earn an income, but you cannot earn your income by having your foot on our neck. So if you sell drugs -- We teach boys that if you sell drugs, one of these things will happen to you. Either you die, you're going off to jail, or you're going to become your best customer. The economic rite of passage is where we also teach them that we need to teach our boys how to manage their income because, as adults, all of us have learned it's easier to make it than it is to hold on to it.

From the economic rite of passage, we move to the emotional rite of passage, which says that you need to understand that we need to stop depriving boys of the coping mechanisms to reduce stress, that we can't tell boys, "Don't cry. Big boys don't cry," that we need to teach them not to be controlled by their emotions but rather to master their emotions, and we teach them these things in a practical way. Under the emotional rite of passage, we teach them how to build families, because we understand that families are the factories where people are made.

From the emotional, we move to the physical, where we teach them that black men die earlier in life than anybody else, so we teach them how to take care of themselves. We tell single parents, "Teach your sons how to cook, how to wash, how to clean, because when he becomes my age, if you don't, he won't look for a wife; he'll look for somebody else to take care of him like his mom." So the physical rite of passage, we teach them how to take care of themselves.

The mental rite of passage, we teach them that if you're going to be a man, that you must have some knowledge, that you must learn, but at the same time, we tell them that the schools in this state and throughout this entire nation were constructed at your direct exclusion, but once you know, then it is your job to go to that school and get what you must get to make your life positive. The mental rite of passage, what we also teach them that they have to learn how to study, how to read, and have the ideas in their minds that, "If you can't teach this, well, give me the book and I'll learn it for myself." We teach them that you can have programs for kids who drop out of school. You must have programs to help that young man address his entire life. We teach them that if you want to teach school, root them in math and science, because those are the two subjects that will help you improve your life, that if you know math and science, nobody can shake you loose off the tree because you know in fact that two plus two is four.

From the mental rite of passage, we move into the rite of passage which concerns you, brother: politics, that we teach young men that your people fought, were burnt, were bombed, were lynched trying to get you the right to vote, so you need to use that vote to organize yourself to put into office and remove from office those people who meet or don't meet our needs.

The social rite of passage is where we teach that wherever you come from, your family, your block, your neighborhood should not suffer because you are there but should be placed at a distinct advantage because you're there. We advocate that you don't break up gangs, that you put in the minds of the gang that idea to help and not to hurt. So if you want to drive by and shoot, we oppose that, but if you want to drive by, stop by, mow the lawn, paint the fence, help my mom go shopping, (inaudible) and work. We teach them for instance that when you go off to jail your home boys don't write, don't come see you, but that Christ and the twelve disciples, they were a gang, perceived as a gang, but because there was sense in the gang, they did not act out nonsense, and half the world is waiting on the lead gang member to come back. So we teach them social --

We go to historical, that you need to know who you are, that if you don't know who you are, you don't know what time it is, and you don't know what to do, that you need to know that your people were the first to stand in the light of the sun, that they taught the entire world, that now we stand or sit or lie at the foot of the world, but we once led the world, and we need to teach them that, because once you know who you are, you can do that which you can do.

The last rite of passage, the cultural rite of passage, is we teach them that culture is the system of ideas, behavior patterns, values, and perceptions that our people have put together to solve their live's problems. Ask (inaudible). He will tell you. Ask the judges. They will tell you. You have never seen a black man in your court going to jail who knew who he was, who knew his values, who knew his people.

I stand before you as an ex-gang member. I started in the courtroom at 16 years old facing 25 to life, and someone made me begin to understand who I was and where I came from, and then I began to understand that it was not my job to destroy the world but to build a new world for my people. We have got to begin to teach our children who they are, and I will end with this: I will end with this.

I taught science and I've taught math, and my math students didn't know that algebra is a proper name. The man's name was Muhammed Iben Algebra. He was a black man, and he was about this size. He was playing, writing on paper, and his home boys asked him, "Well, what are you going to call this?" and he did something that was very bright. He named it after himself.

I will end with this: I have too many -- We teach them for instance, if you can bounce a ball with so much pressure that it hits the floor and comes back up to your hand, if you can project that ball in the air in such an angle that it goes to a hoop only 16 inches in diameter, don't tell me you can't do math. You just did. The problem that we're faced with is moving that from your forefingwers to your head.

So we propose that all black boys be in rites of passage programs where they are taught how to be men, and wherever you go on the planet Earth and you find real men, their number one job is to build a neighborhood, to build a family, to build a nation for their people, and these are skills that we cannot assume the school is going to teach, but they are skills that can be taught in neighborhoods.

So in terms of what should be proposed as law, I don't think we need a law. What we need is to inspire ourselves to do the work in our communities that we must do, that our sisters, our sisters have done a fine job, but by the time a boy is 10 years old, he needs a man in his life because birds teach birds how to fly, fish teach fish how to swim, and it's men who teach men how to be men.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Mr. Johnson, Ms. Lee has a question.

MS. LEE: Yeah. Mr. Johnson, you know, I really appreciate what you had to say today. I know, as a principal social worker by profession, you really are talking about the healthy psychological development of our African-American males, and I hear you loud and clear.

I wanted to ask you one question with regard to some of the pilot programs that are going on back East. I believe "60 Minutes" did a show a couple of weeks ago, a school in Washington, D.C., where there are courses that are being taught to African-American boys by African-American men, and these courses, of course, are being perceived now as possibly in violation of civil rights laws because they are, quote, segregated.

I'd like to know your opinion on that, and do you think that is something that makes sense or not?

MR. JOHNSON: What we believe is that you need not separate black boys into separate rooms to teach, that no matter where they are at, we need to be bold enough to tell them the truth as it is, to teach them that they live in a country that is consciously designed to destroy them, and no matter who's in the classroom, they need to do that, because, you see, the thing that we need to do is that what we did, when we constructed that program, it was first organized for teen fathers, young boys between 14 and 18 that had kids and it was a third white, a third black, and a third Hispanic, and that's why the first rite of passage is the personal rite of passage where all boys learn that life is hard for everybody, black, white, or otherwise, but when they accept that, then it becomes easier to turn to a black boy and say, "And your life is particularly hard because you live some place where it's designed for your destruction," to turn to a poor white boy and say, "and you are ignored also because, after all, you're white and the world is organized for you to succeed, so the world says 'Why haven't you succeeded?'"

So the thing that we need to do is not separate our boys into separate rooms but to tell them the truth wherever we find them.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Right on. Good answer. Good answer. Okay. Yeah.

One more thing, Mr. Johnson.

The political rites of passage, I think that's very important. If you could get anybody down to Oakland on November sixth to go through that rite, I'd appreciate it.

MR. JOHNSON: Okay. If I can make this one last comment. What we did in our rites of passage program, we didn't have time to contact you. We came to Oakland.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Come back quick.

MR. JOHNSON; We will. We're going to come back to show them. We took our boys from Los Angeles to Oakland to show them, because, you see, you're right. Bradley lost because we did not come out, but Bradley did not inspire poor people to come out, and that's a shame, but now you have. So we came to Oakland to show them.

One of the problems in Oakland, what can this black man do? So they have studied your whole career, and they love you.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you. Thank you.

MR. JOHNSTON: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you.

Okay. Thank you very much.

Mr. Valdry.

MR. WARREN VALDRY: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. That is a very tough act to follow.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: You don't have to try. You're going to distinguish yourself.

MR. VALDRY: No. I'll just present what I have to present.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I know. That's what I'm saying. It'll be fine.

MR. VALDRY: But -- I compliment the brother. He's really articulate in the process. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, the Honorable Chairman and members of the Legislative Black Caucus, other members of the dais, and guests. My name is Warren Valdry. I'm president of the One Hundred Black Men of Los Angeles, Incorporated.

I'm here today to share some experience I've had and I've gained over a period of time with the program in Los Angeles County that's called the Young Black Scholars Program. We think it's great, and we had some 1,275 kids who graduated, thought it was equally as great.

I'd like to say that over the last 5 years working with the young black scholars program to assist African-American males to overcome the obstacles that impede them from moving through the process of finishing high school, moving into the world of work, and attending colleges and universities around this country.

There are many facts to consider when discussing African-American males. I will focus on these facts relating to the African-American child and their attitudes, beliefs, and values. I'm an advocate of the African-American child, one who believes that a child is a mirror of the adult who shapes his or her life, and I say that because I'm --

In the chronicle of higher education, we had a young man who entered the Young Black Scholars Program, and he said that this program was great because, had he not come in this program, he probably would have ended up leading a gang and probably losing his life, but he said, "Now I'm pleased that I'm attending this program, and I'm attending Stanford University," and I think the One Hundred Black Men and the 36 other community-based organizations in Los Angeles feel very proud about this, and we look forward to continuing.

I think that you would agree that there are many dangerous times for African children, especially African-American males, but I encourage you to consider the fact that throughout the recorded history, since we first contacted Western civilization and put our foot on the North American continent, the American child, black child, has been under siege, and if I might digress for a minute, it reminds me of one of those delegates in the Virginia House of Commons. This is the early 1800's, and he said that they were very much concerned about education and educating the black child because it might destroy the Southern way of life, and he said, "You know, we've had a good time, and we've had an opportunity to wipe out the light, out of the eyes of the African slaves." He said, "If we can only devise a method to wipe out the light of decision," he said, "what we would be able to do is to have him run around in he fields like a beast, and our lives would be very safe in the southern part of the country."

So I say that to say that to distinguish the fact that we have always been in danger, and to enlarge upon this, I question whether or not we should continue to use the term "endangered species." I've given some thought to this. I believe that the terminology is unfortunate, misleading, and may destroy and minimize the seriousness of the problem that faces us today. In my opinion, Mr. Chairman, I feel that everyone in this room today is in danger, every institution that represents the power and the wealth of this nation is in danger, whether or not you are male, female, black, white, Asian, or Latino. We are in danger because we have failed our children, all of them, and in addition to failing our African-American male, we have allowed institutions, our schools, police force, corporations, and the halls of justice to do harm to these kids. We have failed them all.

I know that, when I began to talk about the young black scholars program, I was moving around a little bit, and due to the fact that I only have 10 minutes, I'm just going to digress a little and just sort of do a summary of what I'd planned to say. In 1985, the One Hundred Black Men of Los Angeles decided to start a program called The Young Black Scholars, and we looked at the CPEC data in California. In your own departmental data here, you have 23,000 black high school graduates who finished high schools in 1985. Of the 23,000 in 1985, you only had 840 that were eligible to go to the U.C. system. The YBS program took, in 1985, took 2,000 students in Los Angeles County, developed a support program, a monitoring, mentoring, a total support service. Four years later, we were able to graduate 1,276 students with a 3-point GPA that are moving all across the country to colleges and universities. We had at least 1,276 had an SAT score ranging from 1,000 to 1,600. We were able to raise scholarships in the amount of some $3 million for kids all across this country.

Now, how did we do this? I've heard a lot of discussion here today, but one of the things that the One Hundred Black Men and 36 other community organizations did in the Los Angeles community, we went into our pockets. We didn't ask the government. We didn't ask the State of California. We went into our pockets and put in $100,000 a year into this program. The other community-based organizations came in with another $100,000 per year. So total span of 4 years, we brought in some $800,000 to support this program. We think that is important, that the State of California begin to develop a concept to replicate this program.

A few days ago, I had a group of young women out of Simi Valley, out of Ventura, and they stated that they would like to replicate in the Simi Valley. We're working with that group, and we hope that across the state, Mr. Chairman, that we could have the State of California putting all of its resources behind such a program, inspire the community to become stakeholders in this process. We're not saying that the State Legislature can do it all by itself, but in our communities, we have business folk in our communities, community activists. All of those groups need to come together, and we need to stop just talking about it. We need to put our money up front. We do a lot of rapping, but we aren't willing to put our money up front, and when you put your money up front, then what you're telling these young kids is that you want them to be what you are, and you're setting an example.

I think that, in terms of -- with my 10 minutes, I think, I've used that up, but if you have some questions, I think I usually do a hell of a job in terms of answering questions, rather than just talking at large.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Have a seat. You have a couple of questions.

One thing -- Excuse me. One of the things that we have attempted to do over a period of years, and Ms. Lee may have some comment on this, the Congressional Black Caucus, I think, was certainly an inspiration of that, and certainly the BAPAC has carried on the idea, is really a black agenda. I think all of us, in many ways, are doing the things that we think are right in our own different ways. I'm adopting schools. I'm sponsoring Little League, and I'm working with the tutorial programs and the like, but I wonder whether or not this is the correct strategy, whether or not our priorities are together, and we all in many ways give, but we don't know exactly what we should give to.

We have to make some decisions. Often, the Legislature has to decide to fund one program and not another. We're going to have to act as a community, perhaps come together, and maybe this would be an appropriate thing to do, maybe next year for BAPAC, is to develop that black agenda as it relates to what we need to develop and produce a healthy black child that is going to be able to maximize his or her potential by some time certain, but right now, it just seems to me we have a lot of piecemeal efforts that a lot of us are concerned.

I think that a lot of people have moved beyond rhetoric, but I'm not sure that we have it as coordinated as we ought to, and maybe that's part of what we need to do. What you're doing is obviously very important. What the other brother is doing is important. I mean, we talk about what Ron is doing down in Los Angeles and attempting to do on the rites of manhood for black males. We need that for black females, too. I mean, there are too many black women giving in to too many black men in their teenage years that don't have the physical, the intellectual, and economic capacity to raise children and too many young black males that don't have the responsibility to participate in the conception process. So, you know, we've got a whole lot of work to do with all of our children.

Ms. Lee.

MS. LEE: Okay. Dr. Valdry, you know, you mentioned that maybe the state ought to replicate that program. Well, maybe you might want to think of, as the state budget process emerges next year, to really become involved in the process and just see how we can really get that into the budget. I mean, we've got to really begin to try to get some revenues, you know, to do some of these things.

MR. VALDRY: I guess what I was really sharing the fact that when we came together, we brought together some 36 other community-based organizations: sororities, fraternities, NAACP, Urban League, and the first time in the history of Los Angeles, you have this many organizations pool their resources together to focus on one problem, to maintain the eligibility of these kids going to college and efforts, and those who choose to go to work for us, and I think that that's the thing that made a difference.

The Los Angeles Unified School District recently stated that what we have magnified by insisting that every child begin to take algebra at the ninth grade, the research and the data indicate to them that now they are monitoring that based upon the Young Black Male Scholars Program, that every child taking algebra in the ninth grade. The parents are being used as advocates, as well as the teachers in the school system. We were there not to develop in the schools but to mandate, in other words, to reinforce, the mandated curriculum. That isn't going to go away. The SAT exam isn't going to go away, and we had at least 8 merit scholars out of this concept, which is new in the history of Los Angeles.

So subsequently, we don't see this as a panacea to all the problems, but we do feel that looking at Los Angeles, when we took 2,000 kids for four years, and we were able to get more than the State of California was able to get eligible for college and universities in four years, we did at least 1,275, and in 1989, the State of California, out of 17,000 black high school graduates only had 640 who met the eligibility for U.C. system, so then when you have those kind of number, I question whether or not -- Well, you know, the Legislature can make their own decisions.

MS. LEE: Okay, but I'm saying, just in terms of the political process and in terms of institutionalizing at a state level something that is really working, I think we will need your input and your lobbying and your activism to be able to do some of these things statewide.

MR. VALDRY: I look forward to getting involved in that, but I do feel that it's very important that we don't sit on the pedestal as if we know all the problems already, we begin to bring together community folk and let them become stakeholders in the process.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Any other questions?

Anything else you'd like to add in closing?

MR. VALDRY: No. I just hope that everybody keeps it short because I don't like a lot of rhetoric.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Thank you, brother. Thank you.

All right. Next I'd like to call to the microphone Reverend Calvin Jones, Assistant Pastor of Providence Baptist

Church in San Francisco, who will represent the perspective of the religious community, and then we'll follow with our two witnesses, and then give us a sense of tying it up and perhaps have some questions or statements from the audience at large.

Thank you very much for being with us today, Reverend.

REVEREND CALVIN JONES: Thank you very much.

I will fight the temptation to preach.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Just don't preach long. Keep it short.

REVEREND JONES: I have been inspired just through being in this process with some of the presenters and the information that I am prepared to take back with me, and to the honored elected officials, and we encourage you to have a good day next week, and I think what we're talking about here is so important I just must start from a biblical base. I'll read from my text, and then you can throw questions from where I come from.

My background has been in social service. I've been involved in the church community all my life. My father was a pastor of a church. I'm assistant at the church there, and I am executive director of a social service program for women and children who are now in the GAIN program. Ironic that when I was hired for that position, I asked with some concern about why not a woman of color being selected for this position, and they honestly told me they thought they would find someone also a woman of color, but I ended up being there, and we've been there for 5 years, and in San Francisco, we're the most successful GAIN program working with GAIN women and children in our city.

But the result of that has been I've had a chance to see the lack of black males and what happens to the children and the women in our program. With with that in mind, I'll begin from the Book of Exodus, the first chapter and the sixteenth verse, where it reads in the international version, "When you help the Hebrew women in childbirth and observe them on the delivery stool, if it's a boy, kill him, but if it's a girl, let her live."

The biblical speaker in this biblical passage is the King of Egypt, and at the time in this particular time in history, he was in power during the period when the children of Israel were in slavery. The children of Israel were multiplying so rapidly that the king began to fear a possible rebellion. He gave specific instructions to the midwives to kill the boys and let the girls live, and I figure it's ironic that when we see what's happening, historically in civilization, there's always been the destruction of the man child, but if one will look at mathematics just quickly, you can see if you have a hundred men and one woman, if you let the men live, you can still only produce maybe one or two children in one year, but if you have one man and a hundred women, you can easily have a hundred, maybe a hundred and twenty children, but historically, there's something about that man child and that's not to be chauvinistic or negating the importance of a woman's role, but society and specifically what we're dealing with today, people know, when you destroy the man child, the heart, the spirit, the strength of a race is on the verge of extinction, and

I think it's not a coincidence that we find ourselves in this situation now.

We're under-educated, unemployed, in jail, on the streets. You've heard the statistics, on drugs, abusing alcohol, and in order to address these problems, I believe the church has a role to play.

I'm somewhat unhappy with the title "endangered species" because it carries the connotation that we're animals or plants, but I believe we can glean a few ideas from this title that I believe is relevant for today.

First of all, it appears to me when things happen in our society or when the society at large labels an animal or a plant an endangered species, three things happen: Number one, the society as a whole acknowledges a specific animal is in danger of extinction. Number two, laws are enacted to protect the endangered species, and number three, a plan is identified and developed to strengthen and increase the number of endangered animals.

I believe our community and our government can take a similar approach to this problem we are facing with African-American males. We would see definite improvements to our community. First of all, number one, our state, cities, politicians, business persons, government employees, and our average citizen must be willing to acknowledge that the problem exists and that they are a part of the problem. I believe racism and greed are the two primary causes of the problems we face today.

Likewise, we, as African-American males, must acknowledge our own destructive behavior and, in religious terms, if you will, we must confess our sins before we can find solutions. In other words, we must look at ourselves in the mirror and say this is what's happening. Yes. The system is there, set up to destroy our people, and we also must be able to look, as the brother had mentioned, be honest with our young brothers and say that we are destroying ourselves.

The second part of that is the laws, and I think as has been addressed in some of the concerns we have here, I believe we must back away from apologizing about affirmative action. I believe that it happened by design that we were here, and by design we will get out of this situation, and I think we should stop weighing or sitting on the fence politically. Affirmative action is needed because employment is the key to what we are trying to do to empower our young men. No matter how much I empower and I talk to them from my pulpit, I go to the jail houses, I go to their families, if I cannot provide a job for that young man somewhere so his self-esteem can be lifted up, we are going nowhere in terms of helping him move from point A to point B. So I think it's important from our laws, even though the President of the United States is very weak and shaky in his position on civil rights at this particular time, I believe we shouldn't apologize for it, and I think we should be very up-front about what's happening, and I'll give you a couple of examples in the City of San Francisco, although later.

Thirdly, I believe that African-American churches must move to a level of cooperation with our government, our local private industry councils, and develop a model program for dealing with our black men. After watching the "60 Minutes" program, listening to several of the speakers here, I believe the church provides an atmosphere and an opportunity for our young men to get counseling, identify employment, receive educational and important spiritual support. In this environment, African-American men can find not only education and employment services but that emotional network that we need to survive.

It's not enough just to put a young man in a job, because we know, like many of us, our jobs fade out and then we got to go get another job, and you need that emotional support and some networking of people to work around, and I believe the black church has been under-utilized, partly on our fault because we have had our pie in the sky and we've been waiting until we die and not focusing on the needs here on Earth, but I believe in our churches in our cities you see a growing movement happening, and I will give you some examples from our own church experience.

In summary, I think there's three things. First of all, politically, as politicians and as personal individuals, we must admit that there's a serious problem, and it's not just nice to be nice about black men. That is, people are dying. My brothers, my sisters, and other people in my community are dying because we have neglected our young black men.

Number two, again, affirmative action: don't apologize about it. Let's force, let's go back, let's get our attorneys, let's find ways to make sure it happens and increase the employment opportunities for our people.

Number three, I think we should seriously look at the link between government and our Afro-American churches. Yes, I'm aware of the situation of church and state, but I believe there's something that can happen that can be unique and really aggressively improve the situation our young men. I believe a united effort to address this serious problem can benefit our state and our young men, and by the way, I want to finish up with our biblical passage that I mentioned at the beginning, that the midwives did not kill the boys. They allowed the boys to live, and somehow the sisters, we need you to help us survive, but they did not kill -- even though the king and the system was set up to throw the children into the river, and if you continue to read that particular passage of Scripture, you'll see that the boys somehow survived, and one of those boys that was saved during that period of destruction grew to become a fine leader in the community. His name was Moses. He was one of the boys that was to be destroyed.

I believe I have come to a conclusion that our church communities have been neglected by our politicians, as was mentioned earlier. I believe that yes, the church community has kind of locked itself in denominational, but within our church community, I would like to state some examples of what's happening. At the Providence Baptist Church, we have developed a group of men called Brothers in Unity, and I'm anxious to find this young man and spend some time in Los Angeles and study that model because in our church we have a group of young men about 30 to 40 who are committed to looking at ourselves as young men and reaching out and helping our young brothers in our church family. We do tutorial programs at the Providence Baptist Church. We're involved in feeding programs, but we need to move to another level in terms of providing services for our people.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I'm sorry. Let me ask something. You said that you felt that politicians had locked the church out. Is that what you said?

REVEREND JONES: Yes. Yes.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Could you expound on that a little bit for me.

REVEREND JONES: Yes. I'll expound.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I'm sure you wanted me to ask you that.

REVEREND JONES: Yes, I did.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I'm accommodating today. I feel good.

REVEREND JONES: Right. It hasn't been asked to African-American politicians, but when during election time I impressed on Sunday mornings for at least a month to find time in service for the politician to come and speak to my congregation, what I'm finding is a difficult problem is when we are in the process of doing business as usual, when we have to call and go down to the offices, that same kind of accessibility is not there. That's where my problem comes in when it's time --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: So what you're saying is that you perceive that -- now maybe my situation has been a little different, but believe me, I spend a whole lot of time in the church.

REVEREND JONES: Okay. Right on. That's good.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: But you're saying that we only come to you when we need something; is that what you're saying?

REVEREND JONES: Yes. Yes. I think that's the bottom line.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Those out there in the audience are nodding your heads, do you think that, too?

REVEREND JONES: And I think one of the things -- Now, I'm not saying it's necessarily true of African-Americans, but we have had some problems in that area in the past, but I think one of the things we must see is that within our church community the churches are struggling just like everyone else. I'm dealing with people dieing of AIDS in my congregation. I'm dealing with kids flunking out of school in San Francisco. I'm dealing with everything that we're talking about here. What can happen is I think because of this situation with black males, we must seriously look at what kind of programmatic things we can do in the black churches because it is community-based. There are educated people, trained people, in our churches.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I mean, I guess you're talking to the choir with me here, and I just assumed that all my colleagues feel the same way because, I mean, I just think that the church is a way of life for black folks and it's our pillar, and I just don't know how you think without including the black church in anything you do.

REVEREND JONES: But I look at any program that's being implemented, and maybe San Francisco may be unique, it's after the fact black leaders and the black churches are brought into the process or the tabled, and then a program that's expected to be responded to, we're expected our young black men to come flocking --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, let me ask you something. You know, it's easy to criticize. What's your solution?

REVEREND JONES: Okay. Okay.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: What I'm just --

REVEREND JONES: Thank you very much. One of the things I'd like to see what's happening when there's a mandate for the private industry council for example where employment is a key factor, I think it should be written in the bill or somehow implemented that the private industry councils are involved in community-based agencies, specifically the churches. Everyone has, quote, as in terms of --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: You know, there's a real problem with separation of church and state.

REVEREND JONES: I know it is, and I'm concerned about that, and I'm aware it's going to be a delicate issue, but I'm not sure what choices we have when we're talking about young black men.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, the thing is that we have to be very careful that we don't, you know, that you don't get more of us than you want, and that's always a concern, that when government starts intervening in the church and dictating certain policies, that's what makes this country unique, but I'm willing to work, and if this is something that needs to be done, we need to look at how we can involve the church in receiving some of the resources because you're probably the best delivery system that we've got.

REVEREND JONES: That's it, and I probably need to -- I can document and spell out some examples that I am working with in the city where it's happening.

I think in San Francisco you'll see a model with Glide Memorial, Reverend Cecil Williams, that is happening. Our Catholic church, where they form other non-profit corporations in conjunction with the church where there's a connectedness with the church community but yet there's a separation between the church funds and proselytizing in a particular doctrine, but I think so long it has not happened in the black church. It's kind of an after-thought, and I think that's something I'd like to see happen a little more before we write bills and before things affect our community, certainly when we're dealing with our young black men.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I agree.

REVEREND JONES: Okay. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Are there any comments or questions from any of the members, and my sister here, my new colleague, any comments?

All right. Then, thank you very much for your testimony, and believe me, I'm going to take back the word about those other guys that just come around when they need help.

REVEREND JONES: Thank you. That will be greatly appreciated.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I will let them know.

Our next speaker is Mr. Ralph Dawson, Coordinator for the Center of Black on Black Crime, and Dr. Irene Pinkerd, representing Don Fells from my old home base, the Los Angeles Community College District.

MR. RALPH DAWSON: I think we'd better clear it up here. It's the Center for the Study of Black on Black Crime. That's part of it.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Okay. Center for the Study --

MR. DAWSON: -- of Black on Black Crime at Cal State, Los Angeles. People sometimes think I'm in the business of promoting crime when they see that. We don't want that mistake.

First of all, I'm going to throw my comments away because there's no need to further dwell on things that have already been said or further belabor the points that have been already been well articulated.

I think one of the things that's clear is where we place education. We place education probably in the wrong sequence and at the wrong time in people's lives. We spend a lot of time and a lot of money on enforcement, a lot of time and money on incarceration, but like it's been said so often, if we spent on the front end, we would not have to spend it on the back end.

So as an educator and a researcher and someone who's been involved in violence and crime reduction, who has worked in a program for the last two and a half years in the church, the (inaudible) to reduce crime and violence and to develop positive value affirmations through black youth across the state, which did receive public and private funding, I think there are several things that I can say at this point that would be totally positive.

One, we need to control our own education. For too long we have relied on white institutions to educate us, and the most ludicrous position that anybody could have is that white people are going to educate black people. I think we need more black teachers, K through 12. We need more intense and concisely developed African-American education. From a historical, cultural, and technical point of view there are so many things that students do not understand and that youth -- that we fail to share with our youth in a timely fashion that when they do come in contact and they do come into consciousness about who they are as African-Americans, they perhaps have either already saved themselves or find themselves incarcerated and use it as a vehicle of cultural identity to sustain them in that institution.

We need more black university faculty, not special programs, not people to go out and provide ancillary services or student support services, but people on the classroom, people in the actual teaching faculty and fabric of the institution because the faculty are the ones that denote what is promoted and provided through that institution. We have a lot of special program people. We have a lot of counselors that are of non-white background, but the cultural diversity must take place in the teaching faculty. We need to do something about that in California. We're the most culturally diverse state, but the numbers of black faculty and the numbers of Hispanic faculty do not equal their proportions in the population in the state.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Obviously that's a concern that legislative black caucuses have had, and we have consistently met in the University system, the U.C. system, state universities. Do you have any ideas about what we ought to be doing, what we're not doing in terms of how we get those teachers?

MR. DAWSON: As Ray Johnson said, no diploma, no parole. No black faculty, no dollars. If we are to improve educational programs, we must improve and diversify in the manpower and woman power to provide the educational programs that are there.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Of course, now, that's something that we all say, and there are nine of us, and there are fifty or whatever other votes that are there. So I mean you've got to do some other kinds of things.

MR. DAWSON: There are trustees. There are regents, and there are boards of directors for these educational institutions.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Absolutely, and we do some appointing to those, and some of the things that we've been trying to do is hold those people accountable.

MR. DAWSON: Thank you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: But again, they make up some portion -- I'm really serious about how we explore --

MR. DAWSON: I believe some of the public universities in this nation are under federal mandate to do something about it. Fifty percent of the faculty in the current faculty pool will be retiring between now and the end of the century. So if I have a chance to replace 50 percent of our faculty, there should be equity provided for those people who are culturally diverse.

The other thing we need to do seriously is to stop spending money on busing and start spending money on improved educational programs. I don't have to send my kids somewhere else to learn. Send some money back to my neighborhood because the neighborhood school and the breakdown of that identity within our own communities helped to undermine the demise of our communities and to begin to development of gang activities. Kids that live next door to each other, they go to school 20 miles apart and then come home, don't know each other. If they've been away from each other all day, you can't expect them to like each other when they come home at night. When we learned together and we lived together, we grew together, and we didn't have the level of impersonal violence that we have now.

Mandate parent involvement. Parents must be a part of the education of their children. Too often we believe that the school's going to do something that we haven't done ourselves. We can't allow parents to abdicate to the schools or abdicate the responsibility for educating their children. Education begins at home. Value education and value-based education begins in the community. We must identify what it is that we need to learn, and we must identify who we are. Self esteem is built on educational process of values that start at home.

Value affirmation, there's an old gang intervention project that was value transformation. You don't have to transform bad values when you have accelerated and enhanced positive values in the beginning.

Work. Work programs where education and work are together. I see students -- I have a program. It's called a Professional Mentors Program, where I bring professionals from the public and private sector to campus once a week to meet with students who are undergoing their educational training. Part of that process is to get those people to identify with the students who are in the various fields that they currently work in and for them to provide internships and summer jobs for those students while they are in the undergraduate process, not afterwards, and what that allows is a student to have something on his or her resume prior to the time they graduate from college. So when they do earn their degree and they do go into the workplace, they cannot only say, "I have the technological and the theoretical background, but I have three years or four years of hands-on experience."

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Let me ask you something. How do all those programs come under the auspices of the Center for the Study?

MR. DAWSON: The rest of the time I direct the Center for -- I direct counseling services at Cal State University of Los Angeles.

One of the things about being a black male in this society, you don't have time to clearly define yourself in just one role. To commingle those things that we do from a cultural base through the church, school, and the family, no single entity operates independently. What we must do is what the five fingers on a hand do, come together and make a positive tool that successfully supports education at home, in the workplace, in the spiritual environment, and definitely in the school. The sad part about it is that by the time they get to the university and the question is put to them of what they want to do with their lives, and they say, "I don't know," there is too much work that has to be done.

Elias Blake, former Vice-Chancellor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, who went on to be President of Taldega, said something one time. He said he was at a meeting, and they said, "Chancellor, what is the problem with the minority students coming into graduate schools?" and before he could answer, the dean of the graduate schools said, "It's the undergraduate schools that do such a bad job," and the undergraduate school dean said, "I don't know. I think it's the secondary schools," and the secondary school principal said, "It's not my fault. It's the junior high school and the elementary schools," and the elementary school teacher said, "I think it has something to do with the parents," and at that point, a grandmother stood up and said, "I told them not to have the kids in the first place."

We must stop passing around the responsibility for the miseducation of our children and accept the responsibility to do it ourselves.

My job as an educator, as an African-American educator, is not to promote educational programs but to promote the value of education and what it brings into an individual's life. As long as there are one million blacks in the federal, state penitentiaries across this country and only 483,000 in colleges and universities, something is wrong. When it costs $26,000 to incarcerate somebody, as opposed to $5,800 to educate them, something is wrong. The money is being spent the wrong place, and we continue to promote the wrong issues.

You cannot enforce crime out of our community. You cannot enforce poverty out of the community. What you must do is educate people not to disrespect themselves but to respect themselves. You must educate people to be self sustaining, self directed, and self-promoted.

We are not a dependent class of people. African-Americans represent the ninth largest economy in the world. It's a lot of bad press that we buy into that is not true. We let a significantly small segment indicate what is representative of the entire body.

Black males are the most feared from birth to the grave, and when you talk about endangerment, when a university professor who's six foot one and 180 pounds walks through an airport in a suit and tie and someone wonders what he's doing there, we must question how America looks at black males.

As to the Legislature, 23 years ago I came here promoting educational opportunities programs and the support of open admissions. I'm here today to say I apologize. What I should have been promoting was better and quality education at the elementary and proprietary levels, and by the time we got to college, we wouldn't need special admissions.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Finally, Dr. Irene Pinkert.

DR. IRENE PINKERT: Thank you.

The topic we are discussing today is as timely as it is disturbing. It is timely because, as we sit today, we might as well be occupying chairs as if this were 1960 rather than 1990. In a span of 30 years, black men and women have regressed, as opposed to progressed. The facts are alarming for a time that is just a mere 10 years away from the turn of a new century, a centennial milestone which, for all of us who are African-Americans, might well be a millennium away based on how far we have yet to come.

Black men in America are more likely to die a violent death than they are likely to reach the age where they can graduate from college. Over the past years, the African-American male prison population has increased tremendously, as you've heard previously. We now have 699,000 involved with the penal system, while possessing only 436,000 in college. The prison population is 47 percent African-American in contrast to 3.6 percent at the collegiate level.

Black men in California are more likely to be on the front lines in Saudi Arabia protecting the sovereignty of Kuwait and our desire for affordable gasoline than they are likely to be in the line on admissions day securing their place in college level classes on campuses throughout this nation. This is the black male in 1990 from an educational perspective. Black male college graduates are declining. This foreboding reality dilutes the pool of future leaders from our community.

This tragic circumstance comes at a time of critical need. Witness the handful of blacks in college business and MBA programs compared to the legions of black males engaged in the illicit commerce of drug trafficking. When business schools open in many of our communities, they lead inside a rock house, where cash flow is taught at a nearby street corner and human resources management is teaching pre-teen recruits the latest techniques on how to succeed as a look-out without really trying.

Street gangs marketing cocaine, speed, angel dust, and now ice have become engaged in a black male brain drain. If you can balance the books of a drug operation, why can't you get an education in accounting and serve in the upper management of one of the major corporations in our country?

We have -- The nation has successfully made our black men feel that they cannot do this, but as an African-American community, men and women educators and parents, trade unionists and professionalists, religious leaders, and neighborhood activists, we have not sounded the alarm of emergency over this trend or other similar trends which impact African-American families, men, women, and the children across the state and nation.

To put it simply, we have to take care of our own. We have to demonstrate that we have a problem, and if it's going to be addressed, we have to be the ones to put the issues of education on the front burner and turn the heat up. As Mr. Dawson has said, we put education last, after all of the things that come after the fact. If education were put first, some of these things would not have to take place, but establishing adequate levels of educational opportunity for African-Americans won't happen without help, and in many ways, the State Legislature can have a major positive impact. As an employee of this country's largest community college district, I am acutely aware of budget scarcity at all levels. We are living with it in L.A. Community College District as students, administrators, and classified employees, but we are also determined to prevail in the face of these circumstances.

We now have a middle college high school at Los Angeles, Southwest College. We also have a mentoring program where the men on that faculty pair up with the young men on the campus to make sure that they have the guidance that they need and that they learn from a Black male what it is that a Black male should do. We also have a supergraduate program at West L.A. College where the students are tutored, and they have a monitoring concept with working on the men on that campus.

So even though funds are stringent, we are thinking of creative things to do to work with the youth and especially the Black male, and the mentoring program at Southwest College is an all-male activity. We realize the importance of dealing with the male and especially the Black male and so that program is all male, but you know, as we are here today, we could use a bit of a hand to target specific problems and implement highly desirable programs to encourage a reversal of the trend that has African-Americans rejecting higher education rather than embracing knowledge as a vehicle for upward mobility and political power. Even though one third of the nation's black families are middle class, less than one third revere formal education. We have to change that. We have to make education an important aspect of one's life.

I am here today to state that we need to make ourselves a top priority. We need to ensure that African-Americans aren't the next ones placed on the list. You know the list, the one that contains the spotted owl, the El Segundo butterfly, and the snail darter.

I'm not a politician, but I know that this political scene may well be the most important one of this century. I know that next year new lines will be drawn that will determine our political representation through to the census of the year 2000. Three, I have an EDD. It doesn't take a doctorate degree to understand that our time is now, and we must act to preserve what we have if we are to be prepared for the advances of the next ten years. We can't afford to lose any more ground as a people. Education is and always has been one of the primary keys to opening doors to opportunity in the land of America. What we fail to achieve now will affect millions of people for generations to come. We have a legacy to tend to now, and in the years ahead. If the school house door isn't opened wide for all of us, we might as well forget trying to nail shut that crackhouse door for our youths of tomorrow, because if we fail, that could be the only threshold they cross over after entering a penal institution or a mortuary.

On the premise that by observing God's hand in nature we can gain some basic truths for ourselves, I offer the following. It is entitled "Do We Have As Much Sense As a Goose?"

This spring, when you see geese heading back north in the summer, flying away in a V formation, you might be interested in knowing what scientists have discovered about why they fly that way.

It has been learned that as each bird flaps its wings, it creates an uplift for the bird immediately following. By flying in a V formation, the whole flock adds at least 71 percent greater flying range than if each bird flew on its own.

Basic truth number one: people who share a common direction and sense of community can get where they're going quicker and easier because they are traveling on the thrust of one another.

Whenever a goose falls out of formation, it suddenly feels the drag and resistance of trying to go it alone and quickly gets back into formation to take advantage of the lifting power of the bird immediately in front.

Basic truth number two: if we have as much sense as a goose, we will stay in formation with those who are headed in the same direction we are going.

When the lead goose gets tired, he drops back in the wing and another goose flies point.

Basic truth number three: it pays to take turns doing hard jobs, with people or with geese flying north.

The geese honk from behind to encourage those up front to keep up their speed.

Basic truth number four: we need to be careful what we say when we honk from behind.

Finally, when a goose gets sick or wounded by gunshot and falls out, two geese fall out of formation and follow him down to help and protect him. They stay with him until he is either able to fly or until he is dead, and then they launch off on their own or with another formation to catch up with their group.

Final truth: if we have the sense of a goose, we will stand by each other like that, and I say that this is what this is all about, this legislative hearing today and the subject of the endangered Black male. We have to all stand together. All aspects of the community have to come together for us to bring them out of the mire that they are in at this time, the community, the school, the churches, the politicians. We must all work together if we are to improve the condition of the Black male today.

Thank you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you, and if we have the sense of a goose, we'll do just as you said.

Now, it's my understanding the there are some of you who are just dying to say something. Are there?

All right. Now, let me set the rules for the game. We got to be out of here at 4:00. Now, wait a minute. Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Now, stand up if you want to say something.

Wow. All right. Now, let me tell you, we got two things. Those of you who want to do what we have not been noted for doing as a people, and it's called doing the right thing, that want to put some of your comments in writing and give it to us, I'll guarantee you that when we draft the proceedings from here, we'll put your statement in its entirety in the book. Does that make anybody want to sit down? Well, okay. Now, anybody sit down? All right. One. We got one to drop out.

Okay. Now, given the fact that we got about 20 minutes to get out of here, if you remember the stories about the goose, of how they helped one another, then you're going to have to be very brief and remember that there are others that want to say it. So I'm going to ask you to make one comment on something and not be redundant on something that everyone has already said, because we're all in agreement with all the speakers that have already spoken before you.

So if you got some new information that has not been said, then come on down.

Now, audience, I'm going to ask you to help me.

MR. AL SIMMION: Madam Chairman, while the others are coming --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Identify yourself for the record.

MR. SIMMION: I'm Al Simmion from the Berkeley Chapter of BAPAC and chairman of the Berkeley Black Council.

We have undertaken this year to attack all problems that deal with black youngsters. We have held meetings with the top people in Contra Costa County and Alameda County in the area of social services, juvenile justice, and the --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I'm going to ask you to get to your point because you got other people that want to come behind you.

MR. SIMMION: Okay. We are concerned that at every stage of our children's lives, they are being controlled by people other than ourselves.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: All right.

MR. SIMMION: And we're meeting with them. We are getting cooperation from them, but we're ultimately dealing on a statewide basis with spending money in the name of black youngsters that's doing more damage than good. We're denying black providers access to black children. We meet with the chief of probation in Alameda County Tuesday at 2:00 p.m.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: So your point is that we need to take charge of the programs that are delivering services to our young people and know what these programs do and hold them accountable.

MR. SIMMION: Yes, and that's social service, juvenile justice, juvenile probation, and the California Youth Authority. We're dealing with all of those simultaneously.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: All right.

Let's be courteous now, and if you want to leave, do so quietly, but let everyone have their say.

All right. I'm going to ask you to --

Thank you very much, and your point is very well taken.

He says we ought to hold those social institutions that are providing services to black youngsters accountable in our community, and that maybe through our BAPAC chapters we ought to establish meetings with some of those groups that provide those services and find out exactly what they're doing.

Thank you very much for your point.

MR. OSCAR WRIGHT: My name is Oscar Wright, and I'm the

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ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Speak into the microphone, and those of you out there, let's quiet it down. Sergeant, let's remove people who are making noises and disturbing everybody else.

MR. WRIGHT: My name is Oscar Wright, and I'm from Oakland, California. I'm the founder of the Black United Front for Educational Reform.

I hold here in my hand clear evidence here of the racism and segregation and dual system of education in this United States and particularly in Oakland. It's a clear reflection of what goes on in a white school and a black school, and the predominantly black school kids are achieving in 1984 at 45 percentile in math; in 1990, they're achieving at 20 percentile. You have already a white school in -- Joaquin Miller here, where all of the kids in both reading and math are achieving at what we call partial mastery and mastery, 70 to 75, 2800 and a possible 75.

The point I'm making is simply this: as a legislature, the law definitely forbids such actions as this. It's required by law that every categorical program from the state and the federal government has a strong parent and community involvement and must tie into a core curriculum, and this is in fact not taking place, neither in Oakland nor throughout this country.

Augustus Hawkin and William T. Jennings in 1988 reversed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 requirement that requires all of the kids not to begin at 0 and go to 50 but to start at 100 and come to 75, and I think that this legislature can do something to make sure that the law is enforced, and that's the point I'd like to make.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Your point is well taken. Why don't you leave the documentation. We'll see to it that members of the caucus get copies.

MR. WRIGHT: It's a comparison between two high schools of predominantly black and a predominantly white in Oakland, a predominantly black elementary school and a predominantly white.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: We got you, and I'm sure that the Assemblywoman-to-be took that to heart, and I can assure you that I know that Assemblyman Harris has started some things with the Oakland schools, and I'm sure that the same commitment is there from Barbara Lee.

All right. Go ahead.

REVEREND RALPH ANTHONY: I'm Reverend Ralph Anthony, President of the Ministers Conference of Kern County. I rose to ask why -- and to make a statement I wish entered into the minutes, that the issue of the African-American Male: An Endangered Species be studied, researched, of its effects as it relates to organized crime.

Secondly, the profiteers of drug deals, of people that have nothing to do with the community thereby accessing those poverty-stricken individuals that live in the community, make money and lose lives and destroy lives. Capital for buying drugs is not supplied out of the poor community. That capital comes from larger financial interests, whether national or international, and I believe it is our responsibility as recipients of negatives to do what we can to make an impact upon the larger community in its purchase of drugs and delivering it through an impoverished people.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Got you.

MR. NORM CURRY: I'm the president of Santa Monica Venice NAACP, and I'm also on the staff of Santa Monica College, of the dean of the College Enterprise.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Speak into the mike.

MR. CURRY: One of the problems I see, and what I came here for -- I can't give my speech, but the thing that I'm concerned with is the Black male 18 years old and older, and one of those problems that I see at the community college, we're still suffering from the same kind of programs that we suffered from in the 1960's, especially with our athletic programs. We have a lot of students who come to the campus, and they are last to come and the first to drop out. We at Santa Monica College have initiated a program that I think would be good for all colleges. In a program called University Transferring Three Years, what we try to do is to advise those students to get into those programs and provide them with a tutoring system, a job, and a complete system that would follow those students from the beginning to the end.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Did you bring written comments that will describe the program and that kind of thing?

MR. CURRY: I didn't bring written comments that describe the program per se, because I was going to speak to something else much mcre in depth, but I can provide you with the details of the program.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: You can do that and provide us with your speech, and we'd appreciate it.

MR. CURRY: Okay. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: My pleasure.

All right.

MR. ROLAND HOLMES: Madam Chair, my name is Roland Holmes. I'm the director of the Orange County Sickle-Cell Program, and I'm on the staff at the University of California, Los Angeles, School of Medicine. I happen to be an organ procurement field coordinator.

An enormous number of black folks, male and female, are dieing unnecessarily because we have not learned the art of donating organs upon our death or the death -- or the organs of our loved ones. Currently in California, there are over 2500 people on the waiting list for an organ. We make up 68 percent of that. Nationally, we make up only 2 percent of the donor pool. I would hope that this time next year both the legislature as well as BAPAC would address the issue of an educational program that would get us involved in taking advantage of the successes that have been made in medical research.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you very much. That's a much needed area.

Next person.

MR. HOWARD JETTER: Yes. My name is Howard Jetter. I live in Berkeley. As I look at the picture, I think we need radical surgery for the patient. The patients are our children, who are dieing and in very large numbers, and I feel that we should take action with our legislators on the local level as well as on the state level and also the national level, and I would like to make three recommendations. I have about ten, but I will only make three. One is that we should have a comprehensive external audit and inquest of our educational process in our public schools throughout the entire state. That is vitally important to us with the necessary factual data to take action to make a change. Next, I would say that we should definitely make a request to the president, or a demand to the President of the United Sates to issue an action such as -- what we will call a moratorium on all foreign aid for 10 years until we get our situation stabilized in the United States. We should also make a moratorium as far problems that concern our commitments in the area of finance. Also, as for the other aid that's going out to other places other than here, we should make a moratorium in the area of immigration into this country. We should not permit anyone to come into this country for 10 years until we get our problems resolved. Then we will be able to share whatever we have with any other country throughout the world. I think this is vitally important for the necessary financial resources that we need in order to correct ourselves.

Thank you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: All right. Thank you very much.

MR. ROME GREEN: Hello. My name is Rome Green, and I'm from Cal State University, Chico, from the Penal Law Project that's affiliated with the school, and I would like to remand -- become the issue that the police chief brought to your attention about the prison institutions, making more, building more. By 1995, they want to have 16 new prisons in the State of California that the state -- the taxpayers have to pay for. Now, with a recidivism rate of 80 percent -- I deal very closely with the prison facility, so I know what I'm talking about. With a recidivism rate of 80 percent, meaning that for every 10 that come out of jail, 8 go back in, on a daily basis, I mean, and there's no rehabilitation centers whatsoever in those particular facilities, we need somehow to devise a scheme or curriculum like what you have in our universities and in our high schools to make a requirement in the jails as well for Afri-centric history and Afri-centric self, knowing of self.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: So are you saying, rather than spending so much on prisons, we need to perhaps deal with the recidivism?

MR. GREEN: Exactly.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Got you. I'm going to start moving along a little bit later, because, see, I'm almost over my deadline. So I got to move you a little faster. It's 4:00 now.

MR. GREEN: Okay. Well, I pretty much wanted to make that point. I'm going to make -- let the next person speak.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Your point is well taken. Let me ask you something. The thing that helps us a lot as legislators and representatives, it's fine for you to tell me this and it'll be fine for us to print the book, but let me tell you. If I got a letter to wave around and say that this person said this about it, I can make copies, I can spread your word much better, and I'd really appreciate it because many of you are coming here -- most of you -- every one that's spoken so far has wonderful ideas, and it would be so helpful if you'd just take the time to jot that down and give it to us, and believe me, we will acknowledge it and we'll take it. So I just hope -- There's no free lunches here, so I mean, I want you to do that for me.

MR. GREEN: Well, I hope you'll remember my name, because I'll definitely be sending you a letter.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I definitely will, and as soon as I see the idea, I'll remember it for sure.

MR. GREEN: Okay. All right.

LABEL SIDMAR: Hi. I'm Label Sidmar, and I was speaking from the perspective of an almost 22-year-old African, and 600 -- like you said, 600,000 of my people in my age are in crime or jail, and as in any other species, they start from the young to try to cure them or whatever, and I suggest that the rehabilitation center should live up to its name, so to speak, and start with the youth, 18 and younger, start with them, and force, not suggest, a program to force, not suggest, to do programs like educational classes and stress that life is -- that life is a long process and, you know, you must find a way to enjoy that process and also have a career class that that 38 or younger --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Are you saying to do these classes prior to prison?

MR. SIDMAR: No. Do them in the rehabilitation.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: In the rehabilitation center.

MR. SIDMAR: Like Brother Johnson was talking about, rites of passage.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Give them some alternative for when they get out.

MR. SIDMAR: Get the rites of passage at the Youth Authority.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Got you. Thank you.

MS. SONJA WILSON: I will write my letter, too. Sonja Wilson, California Coalition of Black School Board Members, and I would just like to say that, with this endangered -- in hiring, hiring minorities, mostly ethnic employers, employees, I would like to tell everybody, the white man comes to board meetings and when they don't get their point, they come time after time after time. Where are black faces? Why aren't we coming to the board and saying, "There was a black candidate came here to apply for a job. Why didn't you people hire him? What is wrong with him?" We need to help our young people, and a lot of young people are getting through, but unless we go to those school board meetings, city upon city upon city, county upon county, on a repetitive basis, whether it be a child, whether it be a teenager, a parent, or a grandmother, and hear or talk can our vices be heard, and let those people know that we do mean business and our voice is going to be heard, we school board members can sit in those positions, and they can tell us that there are no black people out there to hire, and how are we to know any different if nobody calls and tells us? Just like they don't call and tell you. So I have to say that for our black school board people that are out there trying to do what everybody wants them to do.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: All right. I think that's a point that is well taken, that unless there's a big, major issue, the school board members always tell us they never see any faces that look like them, and one of the things that you have to do is to take some responsibility in organizing and going and making a regular -- we used to do it. We used to do it before we got comfortable in some of our positions and some of the other things that we're doing, but listen, the clock is rolling back, and we're going to have to take charge. So one of the points that's being made here and something that we can do through our BAPAC chapters is establish some kind of network alert where we have people that are attending these various meetings on a regular basis. We have a lot of people that are retired and otherwise, and we can even get them to go and bring back information so that we can rally around. So your point is very well taken.

MS. WILSON: And understand, we are volunteers. We don't get paid, and there's only so much that we can do, and we can only spread ourselves so thin, but we are willing. We want to hear you, and we want to help.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: And there's strength in numbers.

MS. WILSON: Thank you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Okay. All right. Next.

MR. LAMONT CONNELLY: Good afternoon ladies. My name is Lamont Connelly. I'm just a concerned young black man, concerned about the state of affairs of young black men. There were a lot of points made about education, but education, as we know, comes in many forms, but I didn't hear anything mentioned about the possibility of education through the trades, and I was wondering, this is a question to you -- has any consideration been given to the possibility of summer trade programs at the secondary level for young Black males and for black women?

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: There are some internship programs that are going, and there are some things that are being expended, but not enough, and it's an idea that's well taken.

MR. LEE SULLIVAN: Good afternoon, Madam Chairman. My name is Lee Sullivan. I'm a parole agent in the Department of the Youth Authority. I, too, share the concerns of the education of our youth, but my present concern now, because it hasn't been mentioned, is once we've trained our youth, we've educated them, they're highly motivated and well prepared, and they've entered the work force, they enter a barrage of adverse actions that is not -- no other ethnic group, in this state at least, endures. I'm speaking specifically now to the State Personnel Board Task Force Report on Adverse Actions, which was published April twentieth of this year, that states that 50 percent of the adverse actions in some of the departments are directed toward blacks. Unfortunately, we have not had the backing of the many black organizations who don't come out for us politically. A lot of allegations are allegations that are brought against blacks and not whites, although the allegations are rampant in the department, and I would just like some concern shown in that area.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I think that's a good point. What have you done to go, to organize and get people to rally around the --

MR. SULLIVAN: Well, July tenth of this year, I'd written the director of the Youth Authority, and I was going to engage in a hunger strike if certain things hadn't happened, and certain things did, although it wasn't enough.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Now, you're saying that you want to rally support, and I guess what I'm saying is that we got to make the word get out, and what are you doing? Are -- you're prepared to do to go out and gather the support or letting people know?

MR. SULLIVAN: Well, through correspondence, I've written the director of the NAACP and BASS, etc., etc., and there has been some correspondence, but there are a lot of things happening to people's careers now, and these are the people that motivated the qualified and the actual work force to be role models that are being decimated.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: All right. That's one of the things that BAPAC and through your BAPAC chapters we really ought to be doing and getting on the case.

Thank you.

MS. LULU CARTER: Good afternoon, everyone. I'm Lulu Carter. I teach in San Francisco, and I am a strong member of CTA. I would like you to know I'm in that pool of people who will be retiring among those people who in a few years will make more and more positions available for teachers.

I'm terribly concerned that we don't seem to have a pool of black youngsters, particularly in the last few years. In the last 20 years, our youngsters have become everything but teachers. Industry has gone to our best colleges, as you very well know, and they have recruited our youngsters into banks, law firms, and all kinds of profitable positions. Now, I'll have you know that a lot of them are on unemployment at this moment. Perhaps we could do something about changing their lives and making them come to something that is most important, the business of coming back as a black person to teach in the schools.

I have worked over 30 years, and I have only worked in one position where there was more than two black teachers present on that faculty. Believe you me, it is not the world's worst job, and surely in this day and time of economic chaos, it probably is one of the better jobs. Now, I don't give you written testimony about how to fund this kind of program that I have --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: No, but I think your point is well taken.

MS. CARTER: Well, I do want to tell you how to do it:

The teacher corps, and if you listen to the remarks of one of our people who's running for Governor, Diane Feinstein, she will explain in detail about the teacher corps. It can be done, and it should be done, and we as teachers ought to do something about helping our own children get into CTA's program for future teachers.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I think your point is well taken, that black teachers are becoming an endangered species, and we should do all we can to encourage young people to consider that as a profession.

MS. SILVIA HARDING MARKS: My name is Silvia Harding Marks, and I'm with the Youth Development Center in East Palo Alto. People are probably getting a little tired of the comment that I'm going to make right now. I don't see many young people. I did see a couple, which is great, a few minutes ago, but we're going to talk about education and talk about educating our children, then we need to have them involved in the process, and when we go to conferences and we don't involve them in what is happening, then we have a problem. I would like to -- I only know of one chapter of BAPAC that has a youth component, and that chapter is Oakland. My hat off to them. Unless we deal with the young people, bring them to these conferences, have junior BAPAC groups --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: There's got to be. There are those kind of activities. In fact, at 4:00 -- right -- from 4:00 to 6:00, there's a whole youth program and meeting that's going on right here in this building right now. It's over at the Radison. I'm sorry.

MS. MARKS: Okay, but they're not involved in the whole conference. Hopefully, next year we'll have more young people.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, it's Oakland and, you know, they can participate, but you know young people as well as I do. There are some things that they're interested in, and those things that directly speaking to their needs and their concerns, that's where I would be if I was a -- I know where my son is, and I just know how the mind works, but your point is well taken, and we do need to involve our children, because that's how they learn and they grow, and they set their expectations, and I agree with you 100 percent.

MR. JEROME P. ANDREWS: Hello. My name is Jerome P. Andrews. I'm a senior at CSU, Chico.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: You've got to speak into the microphone.

MR. ANDREWS: All right. My name is Jerome Andrews. I'm a senior at CSU, Chico. I'm an English history major. My concern is that in order for black males, females, to respect themselves, they must have a history, and not the history taught in high school and junior high and elementary. I did not learn about my history until I got to Cal State University and it was hard work doing it, and I did not have any self respect for myself until I did so, and 70 percent are not reaching that point. If you do not teach them at a young age that they are males, that people did things that -- and that before we were slaves, we had something and an investment in this nation and in the world, they will never have it, because what they are being told is that the only way to make it is through drugs and through money, and that's not true. If you want to be something, you got to have respect for yourself, and your new history book adopted by the state has one page on Garvey and three on the KKK.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I don't have to tell you how hard I've been fighting that battle with those textbooks.

MR. ANDREWS: San Francisco State did it.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: It's a crime.

MR. ANDREWS: You got to have it in your schools because they're not getting the college degrees.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Hey, listen, I agree with you. I have had legislation that was passed that now mandates that they have to do supplemental lists in history at least beginning to make the teachers -- or provide for teachers that kind of information they need, but that new textbook, and I'm telling you there was one workshop here on it. Those of us who were concerned, those of you who are educators, the cop-out has been that the books are better than what we had. I mean, that's what -- that's the guise that your superintendent of schools and others are using for the support of the books, that they're so much better than what you're currently using. I grant it. That may be very well true, but the question is, when did we stop short of demanding excellence rather than that which is just a little bit better, and I think at some point we have to say enough, and that's why I took the stand -- I get -- you know, they voted and we need to take on the State Board of Education, because I think there were valid concerns that were raised by people who were followed by learned black educators and scholars that had real serious concerns about those textbooks, and without -- as though no one had spoken out, they adopted it in its whole course, and believe me, that has not gone unnoted. I shall not forget it in the Legislature next year. So your point -- I mean, I couldn't agree with you more, and your point will be well registered, and I hope you will write that, and come to the workshop.

MR. ANDREWS: I hope so.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Okay.

MR. ANDREWS: I'll be there.

REVEREND JAMES SIMMS: I'm Reverend James Simms, Reverend James Larue Simms, pastor of Our Church of Love and Light in North Highlands, California, and Worldwide Video Ministry, and I would like to point out the fact that every college that mankind has faced and overcome has been done with very simple solutions, and one of the solutions that we need to become unified on is vibrational healing. In other words, to lift our vibrations, to use words that are positive, that denote respect for one another as we well do and to acknowledge the fact that when we all come together with a vision, which we do have, that that vision will manifest. All we need do is keep that faith and in our own way do everything possible to enhance our own lives so that we are role models for the youth around us.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Listen. I'm going to ask you to hold down the noise so that we can hear our speaker.

REVEREND SIMMS: We have a program called The Living Saint Award in which we award people in the community who are doing good. We've awarded a lady named Momma Marks, that many people might know around here, a lady named Faith Kennedy. She was awarded. We also have awarded Winnie Mandela, and we hope to award Cecil Williams and Johnny Coleman. We go all over the country awarding people, and the point is that there are saints everywhere. They're not dead. They're alive, and they're doing things that help bring us to and enable our vision manifest as it is manifesting, and I just want to point out the fact of the good that is being done right now and the fact that we need to concentrate on that, not let it slip away.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I think your point is well taken. I'm going to rush you again --

REVEREND SIMMS: And we need to --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: -- not listen to this notion that we need to recognize people who are doing good because part of that recognition also encourages them to keep on keeping on when they know that people are watching them and also your things about how we address one another and the respect with which we treat our fellow brothers and sisters.

REVEREND SIMMS: Right. As we act beautiful toward one another, our vision comes to life.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you very much.

MS. URDALE LONG: I'm Urdale Long, from the Seekers, Finders Opportunity House over in Oakland, and we have five houses in place for people that have been in prison and are now out and drug offenders that are no longer on drugs or selling drugs and the problem that I find and I wish I could find a way to get around it is that our houses are full. The courts call us, we have people that have been probated to us that have got back into the work force and have gone back to work. Some have gone back to school, and have finished college, but our houses are full. There's a lot of boarded up houses in Oakland. I've tried to reach the HUD people, and I have not been successful reaching them to find out how can we get houses to put these people in. We have women that have come to us in the early stages of pregnancy. They have not used drugs. The babies are born drug-free, and that's what I'm here for, to find out how can we do that. In Social Services, when the people come out of prison and go to Social Services, they're hassled a lot and belittled a lot, and we can't find a way to get them some type of income until they get off of their probationary period in he program where they can get back to work or back to school, and I feel that we should have some kind of a way that when there are homes that are serving the community, it should not be so hard for us to get the things that we need, and we're a non-profit organization, and we're doing this on our own. We have no funding. We can't even get pillows from anybody. So if we could find a way to be able to support our homes so that the people can get back to work and get on jobs, and these are black people that are in these programs.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Your point is well taken. The need for more community resources to good programs that are doing a good job, and I'm sure that, again, my Assemblywoman elect, Barbara Lee, has heard your words, and I saw here writing furiously. So I know you'll be hearing from here, and we will do some things, and see what we can do to help you.

MR. JAMES ED LEE: Hi. My name is James Ed Lee, for Barbara Lee, and Ms. Gwen, as you know -- Well, Barbara knows, we started a minority advertising agency in the City of Oakland in 1960 which at that time was the first minority advertising agency west of the Mississippi. We are now and presently doing a study as doctoral study at U.C. Berkeley in business to try to try and develop a delivery system, an economic delivery system, that would deliver the resources that we have in federal, state, city, county, quasi-governmental agencies to the entrepreneurs in the -- and special funds are being set aside in the state of California. As we all know, for years we have put the cart before the horse. Now, everything we've discussed here today, and Barbara, you know we've been discussing this since 1960, since the sixties, unless we have the jobs and business that are thriving, everything we say here today will be for naught, so we have to start and try and develop some kind of delivery system to deliver these resources to the entrepreneurs so that they will have jobs and businesses that we can provide jobs and businesses within our own communities.

Thank you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I agree 100 percent, and we've been going to battle for flack advertising agencies with the lottery and some of the other companies.

MR. LEE: Gwen, it's not only the black advertising agencies. We found out that what's the need in establishing a black advertising agency when the black advertising doesn't have any business to advertise.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: That's what I'm saying.

MR. LEE: Yeah. Right. So we have to reverse it and go back and build up some businesses so that the black advertising --

We have to have the Xerox -- Xerox research and develop division and the IBM and the Oakland Police Department and County and stuff like that, but you know, Chief Hart fired us, and -- but anyway, we know that what we need to do, and that is if we don't provide the jobs, we can forget about everything.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I got you. Your point is very well taken.

MR. LEE: I have that in writing for you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you very much.

I guess the -- Now, has everybody that wanted to speak had an opportunity to do so?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I'd like to say something.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Now, see? They told me not to say that. All right. Come on down. You can't talk to me from there because we can't pick it up on the recorder, so you got to come down, and this is absolutely bottom line.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I would just like for the audience to give this panel a hand of appreciation for permitting us to be able to express ourselves. We've come here many times for naught. They wiped us out and not permitted us. A lot of us don't get the information. We're not aware of these things taking place until last minute. we can't go through the formal process. So I want to appreciate you all and I'd like for them to join me.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you.

MR. CARL WILLIAMS: I'm Carl Williams, Black Culture Magazine. I'm a publisher. I'm a little disappointed that we have no black politicians coming out against Proposition 121 politically. That is going to be the death and devastation to the black population of the United States. This is --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I can't remember off-hand --

MR. WILLIAMS: You can't remember which one that is? That is the one for the prison work, where the prisoners would work.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: We're all opposed. We've been up and down the state. What do you mean we don't?

MR. WILLIAMS: I have not seen it on TV. I have not seen it in the newspapers.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, now, wait a minute. One of the things that we've been talking about is our need to control some things that we don't control and on the proposition, there has been a lot of stuff, got a lot of black trade unionists, a lot of other folks that are very much opposed to it and that are doing a lot of things, and all the black politicians that are opposed to it.

MR. WILLIAMS: Well, I do a lot of speaking in the community --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, you can take my name every where you go and say that she thinks it's the worst thing that's coming down.

MR. WILLIAMS: It's a terrible thing, but a lot of people in the community are uninformed. That's what I'm saying.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, I mean, every slate that we've done and every piece that we're doing, we're a big no on 129.

MR. WILLIAMS: That's a big gap somewhere, and that's unfortunate, because people don't know what the import is.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: All right. Well, then, we need to do that. Those of you who are in the audience, vote no on 129.

MR. WILLIAMS: The other thing is that the prisons are --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: It provided work for prisoners when we can't find enough jobs -- you talk about the endangered species -- jobs for black males are endangered with Proposition 129, and there is just no way black folks in the black community -- I just think any time they take away jobs, we know who they're taking them from, and that we're not going to vote for that measure.

MR. WILLIAMS: Okay. The other thing is that the prison industry is a growth industry, and it's being used to revitalize communities, and, in other words, that the prisons are --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: People ought to want to have the prisons in their backyards.

MR. WILLIAMS: Right because it revitalizes the economy.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Well, we have one black legislator who really believes that and is trying to put one in his community with the opposition of the community.

MR. WILLIAMS: So another point is that --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Now, you've only got one more.

MR. WILLIAMS: One more. Last point is that prisons are planned and the need for prisoners will also grow because if it's an industry we're going to have to have the resources in it, the raw material, which are people.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Got you. All right. Okay.

Next person. Point well taken.

MS. YURI GRAY: Good afternoon. My name is Yuri Gray, ad I'm a graduate of U.C. Berkeley, and the point I wanted to make is that we do a lot of lobbying and a lot of effort to recruit students into the U.C. system, but once they get there, they're left astray. They have no idea what their expectation level is. They have no idea of what kinds of classes to take in order to go through in four years, let alone someone waiting until seven years to be able to get through the system. I think that the state should implement a program on every U.C. campus, every Cal State campus that has African -- assist African-Americans to actually know what resources are available to them, understand what their expectations are and make it accountable, make the system where they have to report back to some legislative person to make sure that the program is being implemented and being followed through.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: You know, there are a lot of things that we can't legislate, and stuff like that, but some times we've got to stand up for our own community, and I mean, sometimes we can do some things without government resources, without government funding like mentoring and big sisters and big brother programs that we should be organizing some of the chapters of the sororities and fraternities can do some of these things as projects and really take them on, and I'd really like to talk to you about maybe trying to see some of the things because I'm so tired of trying to get money that they won't give us and some of these programs are things that we could do ourselves, and maybe if I could put together a group.

MS. GRAY: I'd love to. I organized the first African-American week in retreat where we lobbied $7,000 from the chancellor --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Make sure that I get your name and how to get in touch with you, and I'll be in touch with you because I'd like to work with you to see if we can't do something on our own for a change.

MS. GRAY: We just don't have the money to be able to maintain the programs for retention. That's the problem, and we have a lot for recruitment but none for retention.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Listen. I'm telling you to come and talk to me.

MS. GRAY: Okay.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: I like your idea, and I want to work with you.

MS. GRAY: I hear you.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you very much. Don't go away without leaving your name and how I can reach you.

MR. JIM THRASHER: All right. I'm Jim Thrasher, and a National Education Association Board of Director for California, and I already sent my stuff up there. I heard everything that people have spoken about, and put one of my ideas is that we have a comprehensive clearinghouse place so that all of these positive programs that go on, we can do research and study the black male at the same time, and I gave her a copy of the Center for the Study of the Black Male from Georgia. The legislature in Georgia commissioned this, and Albany State University was used as the model university, and I -- my thinking is that something like that could take place within our CSU system, and we're not talking about a lot of money. We're just talking about a place where we can develop and study and research, not to just study the black male, but --

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: How about trying to do it through some of our African-American Studies Departments or something like that, having something else --

MR. THRASHER: And just create that particular area for the study of the black male, and I gave her the information up there, and I think that it would be something worth looking at, and I just wanted to make one other point. I had the opportunity to listen to a professor from San Francisco State the other day, gave a presentation on the Afrocentric curriculum. Now, there is some curriculum coming out. There's one out in Chicago, and there's one out in Portland, and it's called the Portland Baseline Model, and I'd think it's instituted at Berkeley High. I think they're trying to get it into McLimons in Oakland, and I think they're trying to get it into the San Francisco Unified School District, but I think it's something that would be worth looking at because it starts from kindergarten and it gives our story not their story in terms of an Afrocentric viewpoint.

ASSEMBLYWOMAN MOORE: Thank you very much.

Let me just tell you that the textbook workshop is from 10:00 until 12:30 tomorrow at the Raddisson Hotel, and it's called Racism in Textbooks, so I really think that those of you who are interested in that as a topic, it's an excellent workshop, and it's something that we really need to be involved in.

I'm not going to ask if there is anybody else because I've learned my lesson, and with that, I want to thank those of you who came out. I want to thank those of you who participated and were willing to come forward and share. I think that those of us that were here this afternoon really learned a lot and got some good information, and I know that my colleagues and myself will be going through the records and deciphering those things that you said and trying to respond to it legislatively in the next year. So thank you again so much for participating in our hearing. With that, this meeting is adjourned.

End of Hearing.